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STOCKHOLM 1994

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MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

MEDELHAVSMUSEET, BULLETIN 29 STOCKHOLM 1994

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Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities
MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm
Postal address: Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm, Sweden

In this journal, the style of references recommended by the *Opuscula Atheniensia* and the *Opuscula Romana* (*OpAth* 17, 1988, 241–243) is followed. Abbreviations of periodicals and standard works follow the standard usage as in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol. 95, 1991, 4–16) and in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

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Ancient Near Eastern Objects with Cuneiform Inscriptions

Part II. Elamite and Neo-Babylonian Royal Inscriptions

Olof Pedersén

This is the chronological continuation of Part I of the presentation of the Ancient Near Eastern objects with cuneiform inscriptions in the Medelhavsmuseet. Part I (*MedMusB* 26–27, 1991–92, 3–16) covered the Sumerian and Old Babylonian royal inscriptions, here the Elamite and Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions are treated. The large stone wall relief with an inscription of Assurnasirpal II, which also falls within the same period, will be discussed in a separate article.

The inscribed objects published here date to the period *c.* 1300-562 B.C. The Kassites ruled Babylonia during what is called the Kassite Period (*c.* 1600-1157 B.C.). During the later part of this period there were some important rulers in Elam, east of Babylonia, in western Iran. From this time dates the inscribed brick, No. 1 (MM 1977:23a), of the Elamite king Untash-Napirisha (*c.* 1340-1300 B.C.). From the Neo-Assyrian Period (*c.* 1000-612 B.C.), when the Assyrian Empire had larger or smaller parts of the Near East within its power, the museum has a large stone wall relief with an inscription of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), which will be discussed separately. The most important ruler of the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldean Empire (625-539 B.C.) was Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 B.C.). One clay cylinder, No. 2 (NM Ant 2088), and three bricks, No. 3 (the collections of His Majesty The King of Sweden), No. 4 (MM 1977:23b) and No. 5 (MM 1977:23c), date to his reign.

The inscribed objects discussed here come from western Iran and southern Mesopotamia. Southeast of the old Elamite capital Susa, the king Untash-Napirisha founded a new capital Al-Untash-Napirisha or Dur-Untash (Modern Choga Zanbil). The construction of the large temple tower (zikkurrat) in this city is recorded in one text, No. 1. Three bricks, Nos. 3-5, document building projects of Nebuchadnezzar II; two of them (or probably all three) are from Babylon. Another of Nebuchadnezzar's large building projects in nearby Sippar (Modern Abu-Habba) is described in the inscription on a clay cylinder, No. 2.

Two of the objects published here came via the royal family. King Gustav VI Adolf (1882-1973, king from 1950) purchased the clay cylinder, No. 2 (NM Ant 2088), when as crown prince he visited Iraq in the autumn 1934. The consul-general Karl Bergsten, Stockholm, provided the Friends of the National Museum with the money for the acquisition. In 1935, the cylinder was given to the National Museum by the Friends of that museum, and it was later on deposited in the Medelhavsmuseet. In connection with the large exhibition of antiquities from Iraq in Stockholm in 1977, the president of Iraq, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr (1914-1982, president 1968-1979), presented king Carl XVI Gustaf (born 1946, king 1973) with a complete brick, Nr. 3 (the collections of His Majesty The King of Sweden), and some other antiquities, which were subsequently deposited in the Medelhavsmuseet in 1981.

Ambassador Carl Bergenstråhle (1909-1977) donated the three remaining bricks to the Medelhavsmuseet in 1976. He purchased them when he served as secretary of the Swedish legation in Teheran in 1940. When he donated them to the Medelhavsmuseet, he claimed that they came from a wall in the northeastern part of the south palace in Babylon where R. Koldewey assumed that the "hanging gardens" were situated. This information is probably correct for two of the bricks, Nos. 4 and 5 (MM 1977:23b and MM 1977:23c). However, the third brick, No. 1 (MM 1977:23a), seems to be from Choga Zanbil in western Iran as will be discussed below in connection with the presentation of that inscription.

In the following, the inscribed objects will be presented in chronological order. For each, there are photos of each side with inscription, short description, bibliography, transliteration of the cuneiform text and a transla-

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tion. The objects contain inscriptions more or less identical with inscriptions on similar objects already published. One of the inscriptions in the Medelhavsmuseet, No. 2, has previously been referred to in a publication. Therefore the emphasis here will be on the specific texts on the individual objects. The bibliography for each text lists only the most important and recent works; additional bibliographical information can be found in the works listed. The transliterations agree essentially with recent published ones, but show the detailed characteristics of the present objects.

1. Brick of Untash-Napirisha, king of Elam, MM 1977:23a (*Fig. 1*)

MM 1977:23a, left half of a baked brick with Elamite inscription on the side surface. Height 9,5 cm, preserved width 17 cm, and thickness 17 cm. When complete the width was 36 cm.

This fragmentary brick is inscribed with an inscription of Untash-Napirisha, who was king of Elam during the Middle Elamite Period (*c.* 1340-1300 B.C.). He founded a new capital called either Al-Untash-Napirisha ('City of Untash-Napirisha') or Dur-Untash ('Fortress of Untash'), modern Choga Zanbil, on a low ridge 40 km south-east of Susa in what is now the Khuzistan province of western Iran. French archaeologists excavated the site 1936-1939 and 1951-1962. The large temple tower in the middle of the temple area in the centre of the city is the best preserved of all zikkurrats excavated. Remains of glazed bricks from the façade of the zikkurrat have been found.

In the final publication of the inscribed bricks from Choga Zanbil, M.-J. Steve, referred to more than 5000 inscribed bricks excavated in this city. Most of them had Elamite inscriptions, but some were inscribed in Akkadian. The most common inscribed bricks, some 70 % of the total number, had the same Elamite text as on our brick. A total of 662 bricks with this inscription were still found in situ in the walls of the zikkurrat. A limited number of bricks with this inscription were also reported to have been found in Susa. The inscription describes how the king Untash-Napirisha, with the Elamite royal title king of Anshan and Susa, constructed the zikkurrat-temple called Siyankuk in his new capital.

Our brick was evidently intended for this zikkurrat, and it seems reasonable to assume that it was built into the walls of this building as were the numerous duplicates referred to above. However, the donator (cf. the

Fig. 1. Brick of Untash-Napirisha, MM 1977:23a.

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introductory section) says that the brick was from the same wall of the south palace in Babylon as the bricks Nos. 4 and 5 (MM 1977:23b and MM 1977: 23c). As far as the inscription is concerned, this seems unlikely. The donator served at the time of the acquisition of the brick at the Swedish legation in Teheran. When he donated it 37 years later, it may be assumed that he had forgotten that one of the bricks was not from Babylon, but possibly purchased somewhere in Iran. Due to our present state of knowledge of Elamite, there is some uncertainty in the translation below; these parts of the translation are in italics.

Bibliography: Duplicates of the text have been published previously: M.-J. Steve, 'Textes Élamites de Tchogha-Zanbil', *Iranica Antiqva* 2, Leiden 1962, 22-76, especially 27-29 (preliminary publication of bricks from the excavation with copy, transliteration and translation); F.W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften* (Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 16), Graz 1965, 60f., No. 12 (transliteration and translation); M.-J. Steve, *Textes Élamites et Accadiens de Tchoga Zanbil* (Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash), 3) (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran, 41), Paris 1967, 7-12, No. 1 (final publication of bricks from the excavation with copy, transliteration and translation); C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform brick inscriptions in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery*, London 1981, 131 Untaš-Napiriša No. 198 (list of a few additional duplicates); F. Grillot, 'Notes à propos des formules votives élamites', *Akkadica* 27, 1982, 5-15 (interpretation of Elamite text; thanks to S. Baghestani for drawing my attention to this article); F. Grillot, *Journal Asiatique* 271, 1983, 216 note 58 (correction of previous article); M.-J. Steve & F. Vallat, 'La dynastie des Igihalkides: nouvelles interpretations', *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis, Miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe* (eds. L. de Meyer & E. Haerinck), Gent 1989, 223-238 (new chronology of Elamite kings). Recent handbooks on Elamite are: W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* I-II, Berlin 1987; F. Grillot-Susini, *Éléments de grammaire élamite*, Paris 1987; M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire elamite, Histoire et paleographie* (Civilisations du Proche-Orient, Serie II, Philologie, Volume 1), Neuchâtel 1992.

Transliteration:

1) *ú* ^{I}*un-taš-*^{d}GAL *ša-ak* ^{d}[*hu-ban-um-me-en-na-ki su-un-ki-ik an-za-an*] 2) *šu-šu-un-ka ta-ak-me-ú-*[*me tu*$_4$*-ur-hi-ih si-it-me-ú-me šu-ul-lu-me-en-ga*] 3) *az-ki-it tu*$_4$*-ur sah-ri hu-*[*šu-ia in-gi hi-en-ka in-di-ig-ga a-gi*] 4) *si-ia-an ú-pa-at hu-us-si-i*[*p-me ku-ku-un-nu-um up-qu-mi-ia ku-ši-ih*] 5) ^{d}*in-šu-uš-na-ak si-ia-a*[*n-ku-uk-ra in du-ni-ih ú zag-ra-tu*$_4$*-me*] 6) *ki-ik-ki-te-eh hu-ut-tak ha-li-ik-*[*ú-me* ^{d}*in-šu-uš-na-ak ul-li-na te-la-ak-ni*]

Translation:

I, Untash-Napirisha, son of [Humban-numena, king of Anshan and] Susa, [*wanted to prolong*] my life [*and my good reign, and to avoid*] *any discontinuity of my prosperous* (*royal*) *line*, [therefore] I built this temple of baked bricks, [and the high temple of glazed bricks. I gave it] to the god Inshushinak of (the temple) Siyan-kuk ('Temple-protection'). I *consecrated* [the temple tower (zikkurrat)]. What I made and created, [has been given by me as a gift to the god Inshushinak].

2. Clay cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon, NM Ant 2088 (*Figs. 2a-d*)

NM Ant 2088, cylinder of baked clay with Akkadian inscription. Length 13.1 cm, diameter left 3.7 cm, middle diameter 6.1 cm, diameter right 3.5 cm.

The clay cylinder is inscribed with an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, the second and most well known king of the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldean Empire (604-562 B.C.).

P.-R. Berger lists 26 clay cylinders (among them ours) with the same text. Among those in other collections beside ours, 17 are reported to have been excavated in Sippar (modern Abu Habba), the remaining are without recorded provenance. The inscription describes how Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylonia, rebuilt the temple of the sun-god Shamash in the city Sippar. The cuneiform script on our clay cylinder, like the script on three of the duplicates, is archaized, written like an Old Babylonian inscription. All the clay cylinders with this inscription were probably once placed inside the walls of this temple in Sippar.

Bibliography: S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 4), Leipzig 1912, 190f. Nebukadnezar No. 23 (transliteration and translation of duplicates); F.J. Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria*, Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 9, New Haven 1937, No. 85 (copy of duplicate with similar script); A. Haldar, 'Five cuneiform inscriptions in the National Museum of Stockholm', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 10, 1953, 13 No. 5 (reference to our clay cylinder); and P.-R. Berger, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, *Königsinschriften*

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Figs. 2a–d. Clay cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II, NM Ant 2088.

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des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches (626-539 a. Chr.) (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 4/1), Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, 238-248, Nebukadnezar Zylinder II, 3, Exemplar 24 (description and bibliography).

Transliteration:

Col. I 1) ^{d}AG-*ku-dúr-ru-ú-ṣu-úr* 2) LUGAL *ba-bi-lam*^{ki} 3) *za-ni-in é-sag-íl* 4) *ù é-zi-da* 5) DUMU ^{d}AG-IBILA-*ú-ṣu-úr* 6) LUGAL *ba-bi-lam*^{ki} *a-na-ku* 7) *é-babbar-ra* É ^{d}UTU 8) *ša qé-re-eb* ZIMBIR^{ki} 9) *a-na* ^{d}UTU *be-lí mu-ša-ri-ku* 10) u_4*-mi-ia e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš* 11) ^{d}UTU *be-lí ra-bí-ù* 12) *ép-še-tu-ú-a* 13) *a-na da-mi-iq-ti* 14) *ḫa-di-iš na-ap-li-is-ma* 15) *ba-la-ṭam* u_4*-um ru-qu-ú-tim* 16) *še-bi-e li-it-tu-ti* 17) *ku-un-nu* ^{giš}GU.ZA 18) *ù la-ba-ar pa-li-e* 19) *a-na ši-ri-ik-ti* 20) *šu-úr-ka-am*

Col. II 1) *ni-iš qá-ti-ia ki-ni-iš* 2) *mu-gu-úr-ma* 3) *i-na qí-bí-ti-ka* 4) *ṣi-ir-ti ša la na-ka-ra-am* 5) *i-pí-iš-ti* 6) *li-pí-it qá-ti-ia* 7) *lu-la-ab-bi-ir* 8) *a-na da-ra-a-ti* 9) *li-pu-ú-a i-na šar-ru-ti* 10) *li-te-el-li-pu* 11) *li-ku-un-nu i-na* MA.DA 12) *e-ma qá-ta a-na-áš-šu-ka* 13) *be-lí* ^{d}UTU *lu pe-e-tu-ú* 14) *úr-ḫi-ia a-na na-a-ri a-a-bi-ia* 15) ^{d}UTU *at-ta-ma* 16) ^{giš}TUKUL.^{giš}TUKUL-*ka iz-zu-ti* 17) *ša la im-ma-ḫa-ru* 18) *a-na šu-um-qu-ti na-ki-ri-ia* 19) *li-il-li-ku i-da-a-a* 20) *ki-ma* SIG_4.ḪI.A *é-babbar-ra* 21) *ku-un-nu a-na ṣa-a-ti* 22) *ša-na-tu-ú-a li-ri-ku* 23) *a-na* u_4*-um da-rí-a-ti*

Translation:

I, Nebuchadnezzar (II), king of Babylon, provider for Esagil and Ezida, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, rebuilt Ebabbar, the temple of the god Shamash in Sippar, for the god Shamash, my lord, who prolongs my days. God Shamash, great lord, look with pleasure upon my pious works, grant me a life of many days, the satisfaction of growing very old, a firm throne and an enduring reign. Accept my prayer favourably, at your august command which is not to be countermanded, may my work, my ritual act, endure forever, may my descendants flourish as kings (and) remain in the country. Wherever I pray to you, my lord god Shamash, may you god Shamash be the one who opens my way for slaying my enemies. May your fierce weapons, which cannot be confronted, accompany me to defeat my enemies. Even as the bricks of (the temple) Ebabbar are established forever, so may my years be long-lasting for everlasting days.

3-5. One complete and two fragmentary bricks with stamped inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon, the collections of His Majesty The King of Sweden (*Fig. 3a–b*), MM 1977:23b (*Fig. 4*) and MM 1977:23c (*Fig. 5*)

No. 3: the collections of His Majesty The King of Sweden, baked brick, on the upper side stamped with Akkadian inscription; complete with remains of ashes on the bottom. Max. height 3.7 cm, length 33.5 cm, width 33.5 cm. Stamped area height *c.* 13 cm, width *c.* 15 cm.

No. 4: MM 1977:23b, baked brick stamped with Akkadian inscription; fragment, probably upper side. Preserved height 15 cm, preserved width 10 cm, preserved thickness 6.5 cm.

No. 5: MM 1977:23c, baked brick stamped with Akkadian inscription; two joined fragments, probably upper side. Preserved height 17 cm, preserved width 13 cm, preserved thickness 7.5 cm.

The bricks are stamped with an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, who was king of the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldean Empire 604-562 B.C.

P.-R. Berger referred to 52 bricks with the same text as our three bricks. C.B.F. Walker listed 94 bricks in British museums, most of which were not referred to by Berger. Most of the bricks are from Babylon, but a few are reported to have been found in Isin, Kish, Seleucia on Tigris, Susa and Tell ed-Der. Two of our bricks (Nos. 4 and 5) are reported to have come from a wall in the north-eastern part of the south palace in Babylon. There is a good chance that the other brick (No. 3) may be from the same building, but that cannot be proven. The cuneiform script on our clay bricks is archaized written like Old Babylonian inscriptions.

Bibliography: Duplicates of the text have been published previously: S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 4), Leipzig 1912, 202f. Nebukadnezar No. 41 (transliteration and translation); R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, 4th edition, Leipzig 1925 (new printing Zürich 1981), 75, Fig. 48 C and D (copy); R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, 5th edition, Berlin & München 1990, 86, Fig. 48 C and D (copy); P.-R. Berger, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften, Königsinschriften des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches (626-539 a. Chr.)* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 4/1), Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, 193-200, Nebukadnezar Backstein $A_p(b")_7$ (description and additional

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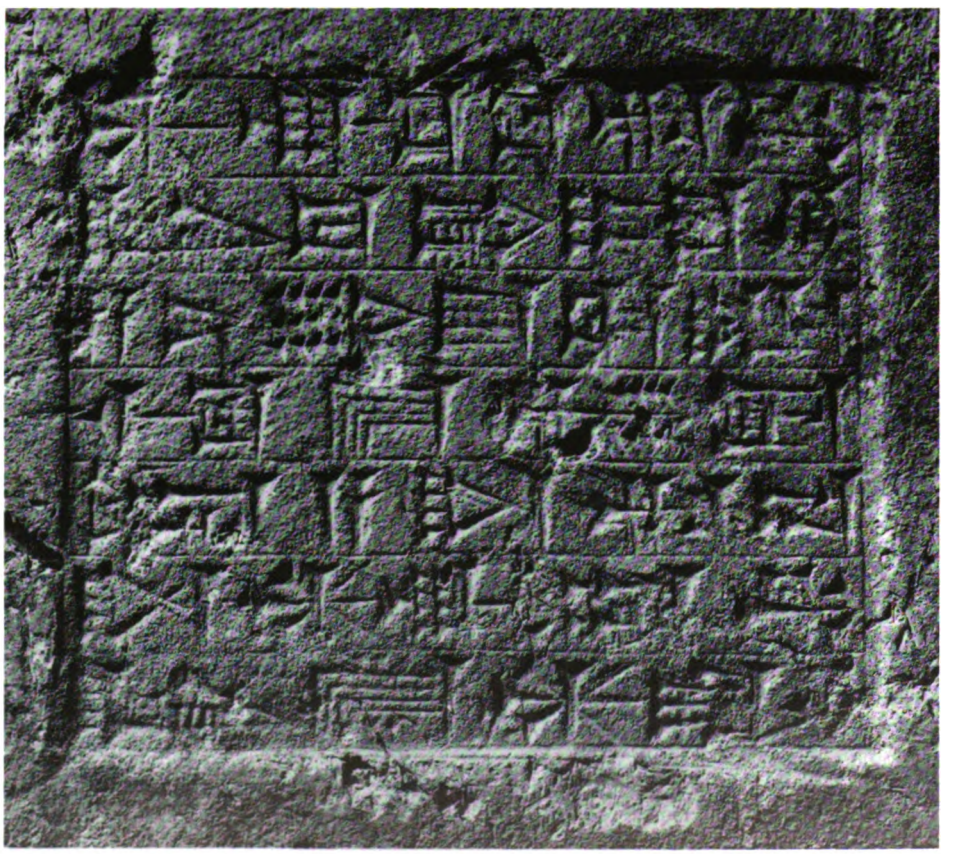

Fig. 3a–b. Brick of Nebuchadnezzar II, the collections of His Majesty The King of Sweden.

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Fig. 4. Brick of Nebuchadnezzar II, MM 1977:23b.

Fig. 5. Brick of Nebuchadnezzar II, MM 1977:23c.

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bibliography); C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform brick inscriptions in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery*, London 1981, 82-85 Nebuchadnezzar II No. 41(bibliography, transliteration and list of duplicates).

Transliteration (No. 3):
1) ^{d}AG-*ku-dúr-ri*-ÙRU 2) LUGAL *Ba-bi-i-lu*^{ki} 3) *za-ni-in é-sag-íl* 4) *ù é-zi-da* 5) IBILA *a-ša-re-du* 6) *ša* ^{d}AG-IBILA-ÙRU 7) LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}

Transliteration (No. 4):
1) [^{d}]AG-*ku-dúr*[-*ri*-ÙRU] 2) [LUGAL] *Ba-bi-i*[-*lu*^{ki}] 3) [*za-ni-in*] *é-sa*[*g-íl*] 4) [*ù*] *é-z*[*i-da*] 5) [IBILA *a-ša-re-du*] 6) [*ša* ^{d}AG-IBILA-ÙRU] 7) [LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}]

Transliteration (No. 5):
1) [^{d}AG-*ku-dúr-ri*-ÙRU] 2) [LUGAL KÁ].DING[IR.RA^{ki}] 3) [*za-ni-in*] *é-sag-íl* 4) [*ù é*]-*zi-da* 5) [IBILA *a-š*]*a-re-du* 6) [*ša* ^{d}A]G-IBILA-ÙRU 7) [LUGAL K]Á.DINGIR.RA^{ki}

Translation (all three bricks):
Nebuchadnezzar (II), king of Babylon, provider for (the temples) Esagil and Ezida, the foremost son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon.

Olof Pedersén
University of Uppsala
Department of Asian and African Languages
Box 513
S-751 20 Uppsala

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Eine Triade des späten Mittleren Reiches

Beate George

Im Jahre 1993 ermöglichte eine Donation den Erwerb einer Statuettengruppe, die dem späten Mittleren Reich angehört (*Abb. 1-2*)[1]. Das kleine Denkmal von am höchsten Punkt nur 8,8 cm Höhe und in Schulterhöhe 10,7 cm Breite ist in schwarzem Basalt ausgeführt (Inventarnr. MME 1993:3). Schon ein flüchtiger Blick zeigt, dass Wille und Absicht der Auftraggeber und Hersteller, ein Monument für die Ewigkeit zu errichten, wohl löblich waren, dass aber künstlerisches und technisches Vermögen dieser Ambition nur unvollkommen entsprachen. Man wählte ein sehr beständiges, schwer zu bearbeitendes Material, das der Skulpteur beim Herausarbeiten der Figuren und der Graveur beim Einmeisseln der Inschrift nur mit Schwierigkeiten bemeisterten.

Dargestellt sind drei Personen, links ein für sich allein stehender Mann von 6,7 cm Höhe, in der Mitte ein Mann, der heute 6,9 cm misst, und rechts eine Frau von 6,3 cm Höhe. Alle drei sind auf einer 1,9 cm dicken Basisplatte in recht grossem Abstand von einander aufgereiht. Diese Entfernung lässt die Rückenplatte von 8,7 cm Breite und 6,7 cm Höhe wie eine Wand markant hervortreten. Nur die Köpfe der Figuren sind voll rundplastisch gearbeitet, der Körper der mittleren Figur dagegen ist nur im Hochrelief skulptiert. Die zwei anderen machen von vorne ebenfalls einen reliefartigen Eindruck, sind aber an den Aussenseiten rundskulptural herausgemeisselt. Beide Männer sind in einen wadenlangen Schurz gekleidet, der vorne eine längsgehende Falte hat – durch eine schwach eingeritzte Linie angedeutet – und der durch einen Knoten mit zwei Zipfeln zusammengehalten wird, bei dem linken Mann ungefähr in der Taille, bei dem in der Mitte höher unter der Brust. Diese Knoten sind schwach modelliert. Die Brustpartie ist bei beiden in erhöhtem Relief wiedergegeben. Die Schulterlinie verläuft völlig waagerecht, und die Arme hängen im rechten Winkel gerade herab, so dass fast der Eindruck zweier nach unten geöffneter ka- Zeichen entsteht. Im ganzen sehen beide männlichen Gestalten sehr kastenartig aus. Die Hände sind – wie zeittypisch – sehr gross. Bei der rechten, äusseren Hand des linken Mannes sind Ringfinger und kleiner Finger nicht getrennt wiedergegeben, seine andere Hand dagegen ist die am besten modellierte von allen. Bei dem Mann in der Mitte geben teilweise diffuse, unsicher gravierte Linien alle Finger an. Eine schräge Vertiefung am rechten Oberarm dürfte ein Fehler im Stein oder eine Beschädigung sein, wohl kaum eine Andeutung von Schmuck. Auch die Füsse beider Männer sind relativ gross mit sehr langen Zehen, was ebenfalls von anderen Monumenten dieser Epoche wohlbekannt ist. Der linke Fuss soll in beiden Fällen leicht vorangestellt sein, was bei der mittleren Figur aber den Eindruck hervorruft, als seien die Beine verschieden lang.

Auch die Frauengestalt ist recht summarisch gearbeitet. Von ihrem fast knöchellangen enganliegenden Kleid ist nur der untere Saum auszumachen. Die Brustpartie ist plastisch angedeutet und eine markante senkrechte Vertiefung zum Nabel hin eingraviert. Die Gestalt ist schlank mit schmaler Taille. Der linke Arm an der Aussenseite – mit leichtem Schaden an der Schulter und abgeschlagener Hand – hängt senkrecht herab. Der rechte ist waagerecht ausgestreckt, um den Mann in der Mitte zu umarmen. Die Finger der rechten Hand erscheinen an seinem rechten Oberarm. Die Geste ist sehr steif, der Arm der Frau viel zu lang. Ihre Füsse sind bis auf zwei Zehen des rechten Fusses abgeschlagen.

Die Köpfe aller drei Figuren sind nicht das geringste Problem für den Bildhauer gewesen. Alle drei sind heute an den Perücken beschädigt: beim Manne links am rechten Ohr aussen und an der Rückseite hinter dem linken Ohr. Beim Mann in der Mitte war der Kopf abgeschlagen und ist heute etwas zu weit nach hinten versetzt und etwas zu hoch angeklebt – daher die Höhe dieser Figur. Die ganze Rückseite der Perücke ist aus schwarz be-

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Abb. 1–2. MME 1993:3.

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maltem Gips ergänzt. Es besteht aber kein Zweifel, dass es sich wirklich um das originale Gesicht handelt. Die Perücke der Frau ist an der Rückseite unregelmässig abgeschlagen. Beide Männer tragen eine breite schulterlange Perücke, die Frau eine noch längere dreigeteilte. Alle drei Figuren sind mit riesigen Ohrmuscheln versehen, auch dies eine typische Konvention des späten Mittleren Reiches.

Die drei Gesichter sind nur etwa 12 mm lang und in Augenhöhe etwa ebenso breit. Bei dem Mann in der Mitte ist das Haar durch eine markante waagerechte Vertiefung, die praktisch die ganze Stirn einnimmt und an tiefe Zerfurchung denken lässt, vom Gesicht abgesetzt. Die Augenbrauenbögen, die schweren Oberlider und die Augäpfel wirken dagegen hervorstehend. Kurze eingravierte Linien in den Augenwinkeln, vor allem beim rechten Auge, erwecken den Eindruck von Alter. Die ziemlich lange Nase endet breit und flach. Ungeschickt gravierte Linien verlaufen von den Nasenflügeln zu den Mundwinkeln. Die Lippen sind gerade, schmal und zusammengepresst, das Kinn sehr kurz, möglicherweise mit einer kleinen Vertiefung in der Mítte. Der Ausdruck ist im ganzen streng, abweisend, ja mürrisch.

Auch bei dem Mann in der Mitte reicht die Perücke weit in die Stirn, die niedrig, aber weniger zerfurcht wirkt. Die Augen sind ähnlich plastisch modelliert mit Brauenbögen, hervortretenden Oberlidern und schräg gestellten Augäpfeln. Die Nase ist ganz anders, nämlich aquilin. Der Mund ist gerade, aber mit leicht bogenförmig geschwungener Oberlippe wiedergegeben. Die Wangen sind zu den Mundwinkeln hin ziemlich rund und füllig, das Kinn ist kurz.

Bei der Frau macht die Kopfpartie mit der schweren Perücke einen disproportional grossen Eindruck im Verhältnis zu dem schlanken Körper. Die Stirn ist etwas höher, die Ausführung der Augenpartie sehr ähnlich wie bei den Männern. Nase und Mund gleichen auffallend dem Manne links: die platte, breite Nasenspitze und die geraden, zusammengepressten strengen Lippen wirken fast identisch.

Eine Inschrift, die gewisse Aufschlüsse über die drei Personen gibt, wenn auch lange nicht so detailliert wie man wünschen könnte, befindet sich hauptsächlich auf der Rückenplatte, die 8,7 cm breit und 6,7 cm hoch ist. Sie besteht aus sechs Zeilen, die oben rechts beginnen, und endet mit einer siebten Zeile auf der Vorderseite zwischen der Frau und dem Mann in die Mitte, wobei die drei letzten Zeichen aus Platzgründen in die Basisplatte eingraviert sind. Der Stil der Hieroglyphen, die flache, grobe Eingravierung mit ihren Vereinfachungen zeigen, dass der Graveur der Zeichen dieselben Probleme wie der Skulpteur der Figuren hatte: Beide konnten nur mit grosser Mühe dem harten Stein die gewünschten Resultate abringen.

Der Text besagt:

1. *Nnj*, der Gerechte, geboren von *ᶜnḫ.t rn*, der Gerechten.
2. (Ein Opfer), das der König gibt an Osiris, dass er gebe ein Opfer von Brot und Bier, Rind- und Vogelfleisch,
2. von Alabastergefässen und Leinenkleidern, Weihrauch und Salböl
4. und von jeder vollkommenen und reinen Sache für den ka des Aufsehers *W3ḏ*
5. *nfr*, des Gerechten, geboren von der Hausherrin *Nnj*, der Gerechten;
6. seine Frau ist die Hausherrin *Jw n.j*, die Gerechte,
7. geboren von *Mr.t ḫr*, der Gerechten.

Zu Zeile 1: der Name *Nnj* kommt nach Ranke, *Personennamen* I 205,4 im Mittleren Reich sowohl als männlicher wie weiblicher Name vor, genau wie im Text hier[2]. Die Schreibung in Zeile 5 ist bei Ranke belegt, die in Zeile 1 nicht. Sie kann aber mit Sicherheit als eine weitere orthographische Variante angenommen werden. *ᶜnḫ.t rn* -„deren Name lebt" ist nach Ranke I 68,17 als Frauenname im Mittleren Reich mehrfach belegt.
Zeile 2: das *ḥtp* – Zeichen ist vergessen worden.
Zeile 4: das *wᶜb* – Zeichen (Gardiner D 60) hat eher ein Wassergefäss unten bei der Fusspitze als oben am Bein.

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Zeile 4 – 5: der Name der Hauptfigur ist am schwierigsten zu entziffern, da er sehr summarisch eingraviert ist. Es scheint sich um *w3ḏ nfr* als Variante zu Ranke I 74,20 zu handeln, das als männlicher Name im Alten Reich belegt ist, allerdings orthographisch abweichend. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I 281 steht der Zeichengruppe hier nicht fern, bei der das *ḏ* deutlich ist[3]. Das standartenartige Zeichen wäre eine sehr summarische Papyruspflanze. Das Determinativ nach *nfr* sieht fast wie ein *p* aus; an der Lesung *nfr* besteht aber kein Zweifel.

Zeile 6: der Name *Jw n.j* ist auch ewas unklar. Ranke I 13,19 hat ähnliche Schreibungen des Mittleren Reiches, aber nicht mit zwei *n*. Ausserdem sind die beiden *n* unterschiedlich ausgeführt: ein waagerechter Strich bzw. ein solcher mit Stützen an beiden Enden und drei senkrechten Querstrichen. Die letzte ist die in dieser Inschrift übliche Form für *n*.

Zeile 7: der Frauenname auf der Vorderseite lässt sich am ehesten an Ranke I 159,8 anschliessen: „die von Horus Geliebte". *mr.t* ist allerdings bei Ranke wie üblich mit der Hacke geschrieben. Auch fehlt im Text hier das *t*, das sonst sorgfältig bei allen Feminina angegeben ist. Die Frage ist, inwieweit man in Analogie zu den technischen und stilistischen Schwächen dieser Triade auch orthographische annehmen kann. Keine der Personen lässt sich mit bisher bekannten verbinden, und weitere Monumente scheinen nicht überliefert zu sein[4].

Der zuerst genannte Mann *Nnj* trägt die ihn betreffende Inschriftzeile wie auf einem leicht verschobenen Rückenpfeiler auf der Rückseite. Der Text teilt ausser seinem eigenen nur den Namen seiner Mutter und dass beide Gerechte, also Verstorbene sind, mit. In welcher Beziehung er oder seine Mutter zu dem Paar *W3ḏ nfr* und *Jw n. j* stehen, wird mit keinem Wort erwähnt. Bei der geringen Qualität der Bildhauerarbeit ist es wohl zu spekulativ, aus den Ähnlichkeiten der Gesichtszüge von *Nnj* und *Jw n.j* Schlüsse zu ziehen. Um den Sohn des Paares handelt es sich jedenfalls nicht[5]. Eher könnte man an einen älteren Verwandten der *Jw n.j* denken, aber dies ist völlig offen. Leider wird auch nicht näher angegeben, was für einen Aufseherposten an welchem Ort *W3ḏ nfr* bekleidete. Auch er und seine Mutter *Nnj* sowie seine Frau *Jw n.j* und deren Mutter *Mr.t ḥr* werden alle als Verstorbene bezeichnet. Weiterhin sind der genaue Zweck und der Aufstellungsort dieses kleinen Denkmals unbekannt: war es für einen Tempel oder für ein Grab bestimmt? Sicher ist nur, dass die Personen mit Hilfe von Opfergaben als Symbol auf ein ewig erneuertes Leben hoffen und dass dazu die Überlieferung der Namen – immerhin sind in dem kurzen Text sechs genannt – und die bildliche Wiedergabe der Gestalt von grosser Wichtigkeit sind. Beide Männer sind in Gebetshaltung dargestellt. Und der Gott Osiris wird erwähnt, das Vorbild und die Hoffnung aller Verschiedenen auf Auferstehung. Er pflegt in den Bitten um Opfergaben genannt zu werden. Ob man deshalb in diesem Fall an seinen Tempel in Abydos als Aufstellungsort dieser Gruppe denken sollte, ist eine Möglichkeit, aber nicht zwingend. Gerade während des Mittleren Reiches war es beliebt, dort in verewigter Stein-Gestalt am Opferumlauf teilzunehmen und darüber hinaus die Tempelbesucher in einem „Anruf an die Lebenden" um zusätzliche Opfergaben zu bitten. Letzten Endes ist der Unterschied zwischen einer Aufstellung im Tempel oder im Grabe nicht so gross, da Grabskulpturen nicht länger wie im Alten Reich in einem unzugänglichen Grabraum, Serdab, verschlossen wurden, sondern im offenen oberirdischen Teil der Grabanlage direkt am Opferkult teilnehmen konnten.

Obwohl also rein historisch ausser einer Reihe von Namen, die in dieser Zusammenstellung bisher nicht bekannt sind, nicht viel neues Wissen gewonnen werden konnte, regt die kleine Triade gerade aufgrund der offensichtlichen Schwierigkeiten, mit denen ihre Herstellung rein technisch verbunden war, und durch die Konventionalität des Opfergebetes zu der Frage an, in welcher historischen und geistigen Situation solche Werke entstanden sind[6]. Gerade die Unbeholfenheit des Stils lässt den Drang nach Verewigung als umso pathetischer erscheinen. Für eine genaue Datierung gibt es keine sicheren Anhaltspunkte. Die Königsplastik der späten 12. Dynastie, von Sesostris III und Amenemhet III (ca 1860-1800 v. Chr.) ist wohl als dem Bildhauer irgendwie bekannt vorauszusetzen. Wo aber in der Zeitspanne vom Ende der 12. bis zum Ende der 13. Dynastie, von etwa 1800–1650 v. Chr., die Stockholmer Gruppe anzusetzen ist, ist nicht sicher zu entscheiden. Sie gehört in die Kategorie von Monumenten – Rundskulpturen oder Reliefs – zu denen mehrere Personen sich wohl aus Sparsamkeitsgründen zusammenschlossen und die sich allgemein durch kleines Format und geringe Qualität auszeichnen. Eine Stele aus der Mitte der 13. Dynastie aus Abydos bewahrt z.B. das Andenken von fünfzehn Personen[7], und in der Kleinskulptur kommen Dreier-, Vierer- und Fünfergruppen vor[8]. Die geringe Qualität mag einerseits mit dem Verfall der Königsmacht am Ende des Mittleren Reiches zu tun haben, die zu verminderter königlicher Bau- und Bildhauertätigkeit im Lande führte und damit zu einem schnellen Absinken des handwerklichen und künstlerischen Standards. Bei einer Folge von über fünfzig Herrschern während der hundertfünfzig Jahre der 13. Dynastie ist eine solche

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Entwicklung nicht erstaunlich. Anderseits streben während des Mittleren Reiches neue Schichten der ägyptischen Bevölkerung in gesellschaftliche Positionen auf, die sich mit allen Kräften bemühen, Monumente ihres Daseins zu hinterlassen und so ihre Fortexistenz zu sichern, deren geringe Mittel aber nur einfache Denkmäler zulassen.

Was die geistige Situation anbetrifft, ist das Mittlere Reich (etwa 2020-1650 v. Chr.) eine sehr spezielle Epoche ägyptischer Kultur, die sich deutlich von früheren und späteren Zeiten unterscheidet. Das Alte Reich mit seinen unglaublichen Leistungen, der Schaffung eines ägyptischen Kosmos mit Schrift und Kalender, Göttersystemen und Zentralstaat, entsteht innerhalb kurzer Zeit wie aus dem Nichts. Mit welcher Kreativität, welchem Elan und Enthusiasmus man selbst Himmel und Erde zu verbinden suchte, davon zeugen noch heute die grossen Pyramiden. Dass die Träger dieser Kultur, der König und seine Beamtenschaft, das Leben im Niltal als das denkbar beste ansahen und es im Jenseits in alle Ewigkeit fortzusetzen bzw. im Falle des Königs noch um die himmlische Sphäre zu erweitern hofften, ist nur zu verständlich. Umso grösser muss der Schock gewesen sein, dass dieses Reich unter König Pepi II und seiner fast hundertjährigen Regentschaft (ca 2254-2160 v. Chr.) in sich zusammenbrechen konnte und bürgerkriegsähnliche Zustände eintraten. Der naive Glaube, dass es demjenigen, der dem Willen der Götter auf Erden folgt – so wie man ihn zu verstehen meinte – auch auf Erden wohlergehen müsse, wurde nachhaltig zerstört. Auch der Gerechte, der Unschuldige muss unbegreiflicherweise leiden und Unrecht ausstehen. Die Maat – Weltordnung, Gerechtigkeit, Wahrheit – herrscht nicht unangefochten auf Erden, sondern das Chaos, aus dem die Schöpfung hervorgegangen ist, kann sie jederzeit wieder verschlingen. Der Kampf zwischen Licht und Finsternis auf kosmischer, staatlicher, sozialer und ethischer Ebene ist nicht entschieden, ja, der Ausgang scheint sogar ungewiss.

Diese Erfahrungen und Erschütterungen haben einige Denker der 1. Zwischenzeit und der auf diese Unruhezeiten folgenden Epoche der Konsolidierung, des Mittleren Reiches, stark bewegt und zur Produktion einer interessanten Auseinandersetzungsliteratur angeregt. Es entsteht eine neue Kategorie von Schriften, Klagen, Unheilsprophezeiungen und Ermahnungen, die fern von allem Optimismus in starkem Masse von Skepsis geprägt sind. In diesen Werken behandeln Denker wie Neferti, Chacheperreseneb, Ipuwer das Thema Zerfall der Ordnung – Überhandnehmen des Chaos in eindringlicher, metaphernreicher Sprache. In drastischen Bildern schildern sie in Zeiten wiederhergestellter Königsmacht während der 12. Dynastie eine Umkehrung aller irdischen Verhältnisse und ein totales Durcheinander. Diese Texte sind heute in Handschriften des Neuen Reiches erhalten, sie wurden also noch Jahrhunderte nach ihrer Entstehung gelesen. Eigentlich verloren sie ihre Aktualität ja nie, hatte doch das Ägypten des Neuen Reiches seine zweite historische Katastrophe, die Hyksosherrschaft, hinter sich. Ein überaus deutlicher Nachklang findet sich sogar noch in der hermetischen Literatur römischer Zeit, wie Nefertis Text als Prophezeiung konzipiert, die historisch bereits grössenteils eingetroffen ist. Trismegistos sagt zu Asklepios:

> Ignores-tu donc, Asclépius, que l'Égypte est la copie du ciel ou, pour mieux dire, le lieu où se transfèrent et se projettent ici-bas toutes les opérations que gouvernent et mettent en oeuvre les forces célestes? Bien plus, s'il faut dire tout le vrai, notre terre est le temple du monde entier.
>
> Et cependant, puisqu'il convient aux sages de connaître à l'avance toutes les choses futures, il en est une qu'il faut que vous sachiez. Un temps viendra où il semblera que les Égyptiens ont en vain honoré leurs dieux, dans la piété de leur coeur, par un culte assidu: toute leur sainte adoration échouera inefficace, sera privée de son fruit. Les dieux, quittant la terre, regagneront le ciel; ils abondonneront l'Égypte; cette contrée qui fut jadis le domicile des saintes liturgies maintenant veuve de ses dieux, ne jouira plus de leur présence. Des étrangers rempliront ce pays, cette terre, et non seulement on n'aura plus souci des observances, mais, chose plus pénible, il sera statué par de prétendues lois, sous peine de châtiments prescrits, de s'abstenir de toute pratique religieuse, de tout acte de piété ou de culte envers les dieux. Alors cette terre très sainte, patrie des sanctuaires et des temples, sera toute couverte de sépulcres et de morts. O Égypte, Égypte, il ne restera de tes cultes que des fables et tes enfants, plus tard, n´y croiront même pas; rien ne survivra que des mots gravés sur les pierres qui racontent tes pieux exploits. Le Scythe, ou l'Indien, ou quelque autre pareil, je veux dire un voisin barbare, s'établira en Égypte. Car voici que la divinité remonte au ciel; les hommes, abandonnés, mourront tous, et alors, sans dieu et sans homme, l'Égypte ne sera plus qu'un désert[9].

Der Zerfall der staatlichen Ordnung am Ende des Alten Reiches erschüttert auch den Glauben an die Götter und an die Fortexistenz nach dem Tode. Ipuwer klagt[10], dass

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der Schöpfergott die menschliche Natur nicht von Anfang an durchschaut und der Vermehrung der Generationen nicht sogleich ein Ende gemacht habe. Kleine Kinder beklagen sich, dass sie geboren worden sind. Es wird auch erwähnt, dass in Pyramiden und Gräber eingebrochen worden ist und die Mumien der Grabeigentümer herausgerissen und ausgeplündert im Sand liegen gelassen worden sind. Damit ist aber das Weiterleben der Toten im Jenseits bedroht. Wie unerlässlich den Ägyptern Mumie, Grabstatue, Grab und Versorgung mit Opfergaben für die Fortdauer des Lebens waren, geht mit aller Klarheit aus Sinuhes Geschichte hervor: nach einem langen erfolgreichen Leben im Ausland unter Asiaten kehrt er allein ohne seine Familie nach Ägypten zurück, um nach allen Regeln der Kunst bestattet zu werden. Doch die Futilität aller dieser Vorsichtsmassnahmen ist nur allzu offenkundig geworden. In einem anderen berühmten Literaturwerk, dem „Streit des Lebensmüden mit seinem ba"[11], beschreibt der ba die Existenz nach dem Tode so:

> Wenn du an das Begräbnis denkst, das ist Herzzerbrechen. Es ist die Gabe von Tränen, indem es den Menschen traurig macht. Es ist den Menschen aus seinem Hause holen und auf den Sandhügel werfen. Du gehst nie wieder heraus, die Sonne zu sehen. Die, welche in Granit bauten, die Hallen errichteten in ausgezeichneten Gräbern von ausgezeichneter Arbeit – sobald die Erbauer Götter geworden (=gestorben) sind, sind ihre Opfertafeln leer, als wären sie die Müden, die auf dem Uferdamm sterben ohne einen Hinterbliebenen. Die Flut fordert ihren Zoll, die Sonnenglut ebenso, und die Fische des Ufers reden zu ihnen.

Der ba, selbst Garant der Unsterblichkeit des Menschen, malt ein noch hoffnungloseres Bild vom Zustand nach dem Tode als sein Eigentümer von der chaotischen Lage auf Erden. Sehr eindrücklich gibt diese Stimmung auch ein Harfnerlied eines Königs Antef vom Beginn der 11. Dynastie wieder[12]:

> Eine Generation geht vorüber, eine andere bleibt seit der Zeit der Vorfahren.
> Die Götter, die vormals waren, ruhen in ihren Gräbern,
> auch die verklärten Edlen sind in ihren Gräbern begraben.
> Die, welche sich Gräber bauten, ihre Stätten sind dahin,
> was ist aus ihnen geworden?
> Ich habe die Worte des Imhotep und Hordjedef gehört, deren Sprüche überall zitiert werden.
> Was sind ihre Stätten?
> Ihre Mauern sind eingestürzt, ihre Stätten sind nicht mehr, als wären sie nie gewesen.
> Niemand kehrt von dort zurück, von ihrem Zustand zu berichten,
> zu sagen, was ihnen fehlt, und unser Herz zu beruhigen,
> bis wir selbst dorthin gehen, wo sie hingegangen.
> Daher sei fröhlich, vergessen ist gut für dich,
> folge deinem Herzen, solange du lebst!
> Lege Myrrhen auf dein Haupt, ziehe feine Gewänder an,
> salbe dich mit göttlichen Wohlgerüchen.
> Häufe Freuden an, lass deinen Mut nicht sinken!
> Folge deinen Wünschen und deiner Glückseligkeit,
> handle auf Erden, wie dein Herz dir befiehlt!
> Wenn dir der Tag der Totenklage kommt, hört Osiris die Klagen nicht,
> und niemanden rettet Wehgeschrei vor der Grube.
> Mache dir einen schönen Tag und werde dessen nicht müde.
> Siehe, niemand kann seine Habe mit sich nehmen,
> siehe, niemand kommt wieder, der fortgegangen ist.

Die Zwiespältigkeit der Einstellung wird besonders deutlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass diese skeptischen Gedanken gerade in einem Grab angebracht waren: man folgte der Tradition eines rituellen Begräbnisses und zog seine Wirkung gleichzeitig in Zweifel.

Und doch verschwindet der Glaube an eine höhere Gerechtigkeit wenn schon nicht auf Erden so doch im Jenseits nicht. Schon in der Lehre für König Merikare, die wohl vom Ende des Alten Reiches stammt und bruchstückhaft auf einem Papyrus des Mittleren Reiches erhalten ist[13], wird gesagt, dass nur Befolgen der Maat im Hinblick auf die Ewigkeit hilft, im Totengericht und für das Fortleben ist alles andere nichtig:

> Die Richter, die dem Bedrängten das Urteil sprechen,
> du weisst, dass sie nicht milde sind
> an jenem Tage, da sie den Hilflosen richten,
> in der Stunde, da sie die Vorschriften vollziehen.
> Schlimm ist es, wenn der Ankläger allwissend ist.
> Verlass dich nicht auf die Länge der Jahre,
> sie überschauen die Lebenszeit in einer Stunde.
> Der Mensch bleibt übrig nach dem Sterben,
> wenn seine Taten auf einen Haufen neben ihn gelegt sind.
> Das Dortsein währt ewig,
> daher ist töricht, wer tut, was sie missbilligen.

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Wer aber zu ihnen kommt, ohne Unrecht getan zu haben,
der wird dort sein wie ein Gott,
frei schreitend wie die Herren der Ewigkeit.

Hier lässt sich der Kreis schliessen zum Osirisglauben, der nach dem Alten Reich zu so grosser Bedeutung gelangte. Ist doch Osiris die mythische Illustration, der erste göttliche Herrscher Ägyptens, der unschuldig gewaltsam zu Tode kommt, sei es durch ein Unglück oder durch Mord, dessen Fall in einem Göttergericht verhandelt wird und der gerechtfertigt im Jenseits zu neuem Leben erhöht wird. In seiner Nachfolge und Imitation lebt die Hoffnung auf ständige Erneuerung, und in diesen geistigen Umkreis gehört auch die Stockholmer Statuettengruppe.

Beate George
Medelhavsmuseet

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[1] Vgl. den Auktionskatalog Sotheby's, *Antiquities and Islamic art*, New York, Saturday, June 12, 1993, Nr. 24.
[2] H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, Glückstadt 1935.
[3] G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, Leipzig 1909.
[4] Vgl. D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, Wiesbaden 1984.
[5] Vorschlag im Auktionskatalog (supra Anm. 1).
[6] Für eine moderne Darstellung s. D. Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich*, Fribourg – München 1984.
[7] Vgl. J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals. Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge 1988, Nr. 49.
[8] Supra Anm. 7, Nr. 56. G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1946, Nr. 50-53, der Verfasser bezweifelt aber die Echtheit von Nr. 50 und 52. Weiter: J. Vandier, *La statuaire égyptienne* III, Paris 1958, Taf. 84-85.
[9] Zitiert nach [Hermès Trismégiste] *Corpus Hermeticum* II: *Asclépius* (eds. A.-J. Festugière & A.D. Nock), Paris 1945, 326f.
[10] Für Bibliographie und Übersetzung vgl. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian literature* I, Berkeley 1973, 159, 153, 156.
[11] Lichtheim (supra Anm. 10), 165.
[12] Lichtheim (supra Anm. 10), 195-197.
[13] Zitiert nach H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Weisheit*, Zürich-München 1988, 145.

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Five Late Egyptian Sculptures in Stockholm

Ingegerd Lindblad

In the following pages, I shall examine and describe in detail five pieces of private sculpture originating approximately in the period from the seventh to the second century B.C. Three pieces are unpublished,[1] one has so far been published only in Swedish[2] and one has been scientifically considered elsewhere.[3]

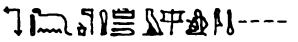
Seated statue of a male, MME 1981:15 (*Figs. 1-7*)

This statue was given by an anonymous donor to the Medelhavsmuseet in 1981. It was bought in 1970 in New York and had previously been sold in Paris in 1966. It was briefly published in Swedish in 1982.[4]

The material is black, highly polished basalt. The maximum height is 24.5 cm, the maximum width 11 cm and the maximum depth 16 cm. The statue is broken off at knee-level. The lap is chipped at the knees. The nose is smashed like the left eye and the left side of the forehead. The left side of the head-dress is broken away.

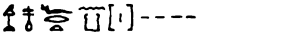
The male is seated with the left arm with a flat hand placed obliquely across the chest. The right arm with a clenched fist is folded across the body below the left one. There are traces of the upper part of a seat and the figure is supported at the back by a rectangular pillar. The man is dressed in a tight cloak with a round cut at the neck, marked by an incised line. He wears a plain head-dress of shoulder length, partly covering the ears. The outline is horizontal at the forehead and plastically clearly rendered. The powerful neck is pillar-like. The hands are likewise impressive, but their modelling is summary. The nails are faintly rendered. The volumes of the arms are indicated beneath the cloak.

On the lap, there is the beginning of an inscription in sunken relief running in a vertical column:



Words spoken by the justified priest Montou-em-mehyt[5] ...

On the back pillar, there is an inscription, likewise in sunken relief, in a vertical column inside a rectangular frame:



An offering which the king gives to Osiris and to the bull of Medamoud, that they may give a beautiful funeral in the beautiful West to the ka ...

The face is rounded, with a receding forehead and a receding chin. The base of the chin descends towards the long neck. The yokebones are prominent; the maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is found at that level. The cheeks run in an even, tight curve all the way down to the chin. The area of the mouth is very prominent in relation to the cheeks and to the root of the nose. The upper jaw is positioned well in front of the root of the nose, the lower one slightly behind that point of reference. There are depressions below the eyes, more pronounced below the inner canthi. There are folds of flesh at the wings of the nose.

The eyes are large and rather horizontally situated. The rim of the upper eyelid is in relief, the lower one is plain. The horizontal and pointed cosmetic lines are rendered in relief. The flattish eyeballs turn strongly inwards at the inner canthi. The very broad eyebrows, executed in relief, run close above the eyes, gradually diminishing in width towards the temples.

Traces show that the onset of the nose was situated high and that the nose was broader below than the dis-

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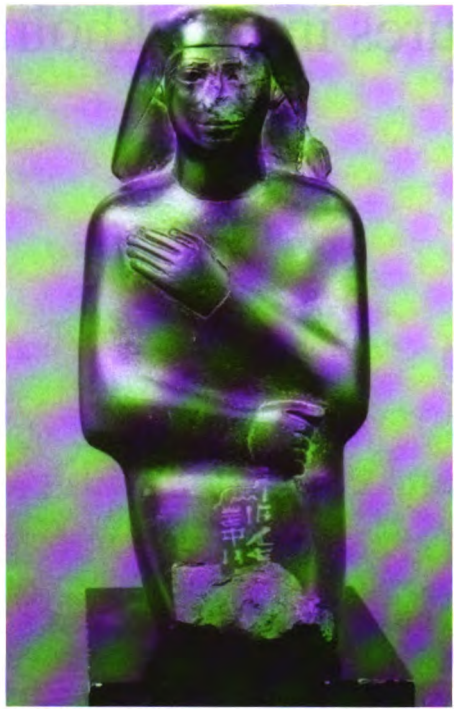

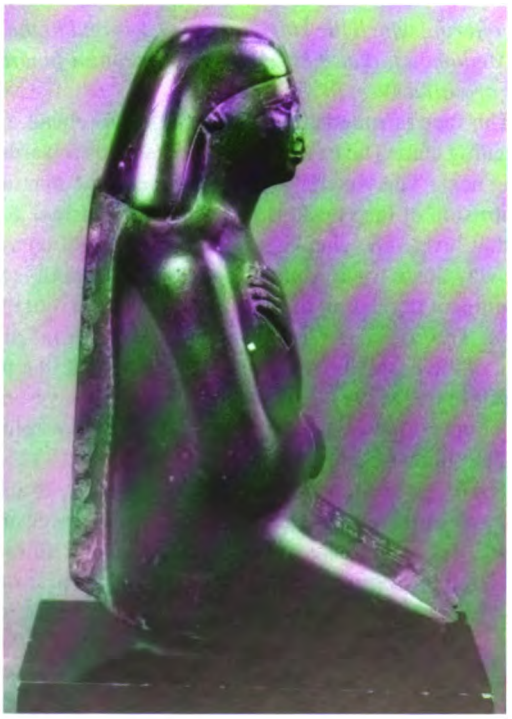

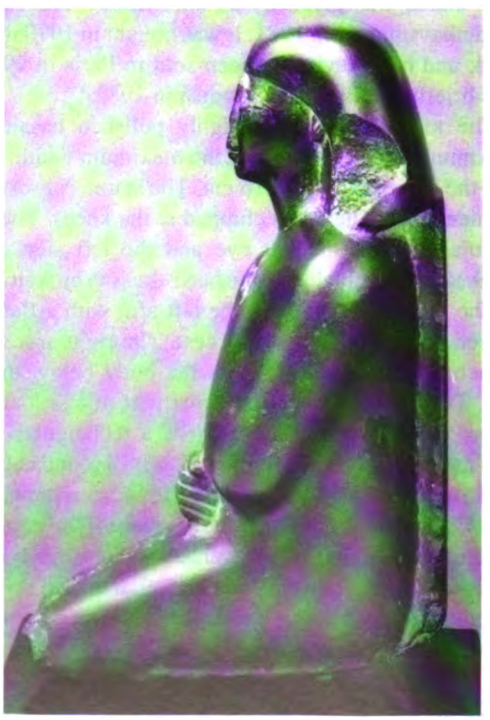

Figs. 1–4. MME 1981:15.

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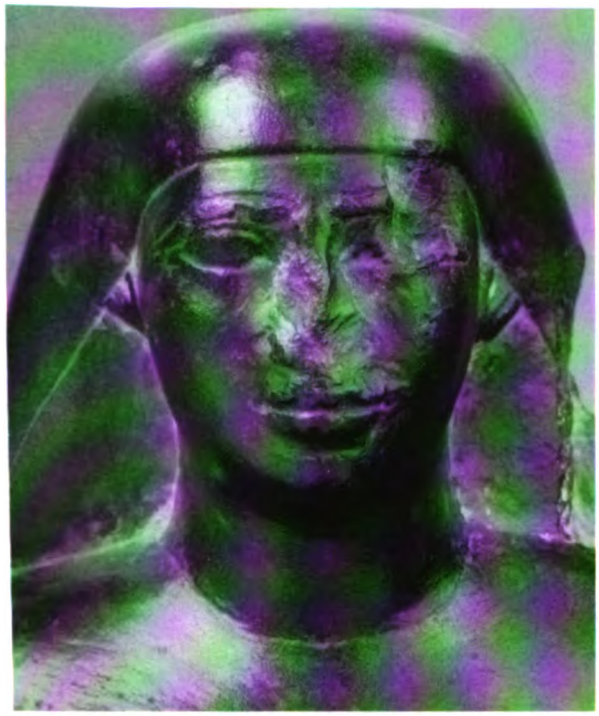

tance between the eyes. The preserved right wing is plastically modelled. The area of the philtrum is prominent.

The partly visible ears are tilted, schematic in the modelling and positioned high and far back on the head.

The mouth is very broad, with thick lips that diminish towards the corners, where depressions are modelled. The lower lip is very prominent in relation to the chin. The Cupid's bow is rounded. The expression is serious.

The horizontal axis of the head is stressed by the outline of the head-dress at the forehead, the horizontally positioned eyes and the broad serious mouth. The broad eyebrows running close to the eyes give the face a concentrated expression.

The statue is to be dated by stylistic criteria in the 25th dynasty. This Ethiopian dynasty is characterized by rulers depicted with round faces, a protruding area of the mouth, and eyes and eyebrows stressing the horizontal axis, just like the broad mouth. At the wing of the nose there is a distinct fold of flesh to be seen.[6] The statues of the mayor Montemhat in Thebes are the most outstanding examples of the private sculpture of this period.[7]

Figs. 5–7. MME 1981:15.

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They range from an almost "harsh" realism to a more schematic version, though basically showing the same features. The present statue may be compared to an example of the latter in style, attitude and dress (*Fig. 8*).[8] As regards the dress and the attitude, this type of private statue originated in the Middle Kingdom.[9]

A possible identity of the owner of this statue and a certain Montemhat, who dedicated a statue of himself at the temple of Karnak, has been suggested.[10] If my dating of the statue by stylistic criteria is correct, the statue of a homonymous person published by R. El-Sayed[11]cannot represent the same person. That statue is of later date as evidenced by epigraphical criteria referred to by El-Sayed[12] and furthermore in my point of view also by stylistic criteria.

Upper part of a male figure, MME 1986:1 (*Figs. 9-13*)

This piece of sculpture was acquired by the Medelhavsmuseet in 1986, thanks to an anonymous donor. It was sold in 1935 in London, being part of a private collection. After having been the property of W.R. Hearst, it was acquired by Ernest Brummer, an antiquities dealer, whose collection was sold at auction in Switzerland in 1979.[13] There is a report that the statue was probably found in the Delta. In 1985, it was displayed in an exhibition in Switzerland.[14]

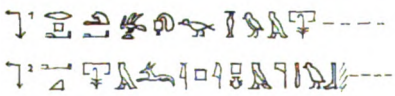
The material is fine-grained, dark-grey stone, perhaps gabbro with light speckles. The surface is unpolished. The maximum height is 33.5 cm, the maximum width 25.5 cm and the maximum depth 17 cm. The statue is broken off at about the level of the waist. The craftmanship is first-class and the condition is very good, apart from a chipped chin and a slightly chipped mouth. The right arm is chipped at the back as well. The arms are moved slightly forward, indicating that the depicted male was either kneeling with his hands on his lap or standing and holding something in front of him; a *naos* or just the figure of a divinity.

The male wears a plain, rather voluminous wig of shoulder length, leaving the ears uncovered. The outline at the forehead is plastically faintly indicated, as are the hair patches in front of the ears. The body is athletic, with broad shoulders. The muscles of the arms, the pectoral muscles and the collar-bones are very subtly modelled. The nipples are marked by circles in raised relief.

At the back of the figure, there is a rectangular pillar showing an inscription in two columns within a border.

Fig. 8. Seated figure. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum. From J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, Quatrième prophète d'Amon, Prince de la Ville*, Cairo 1961, pl. 15.

The hieroglyphs are in sunken relief and beautifully cut:



Heir, local prince, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, favourite in the King's palace... who enters the King's palace as Anubis with knowledge of the word of God, ( )[15]...

The face has an elongated, elliptical shape with the maximum width at the level of the yokebones. The upper jaw is situated in front of the root of the nose, the lower jaw behind that point of reference. The forehead is

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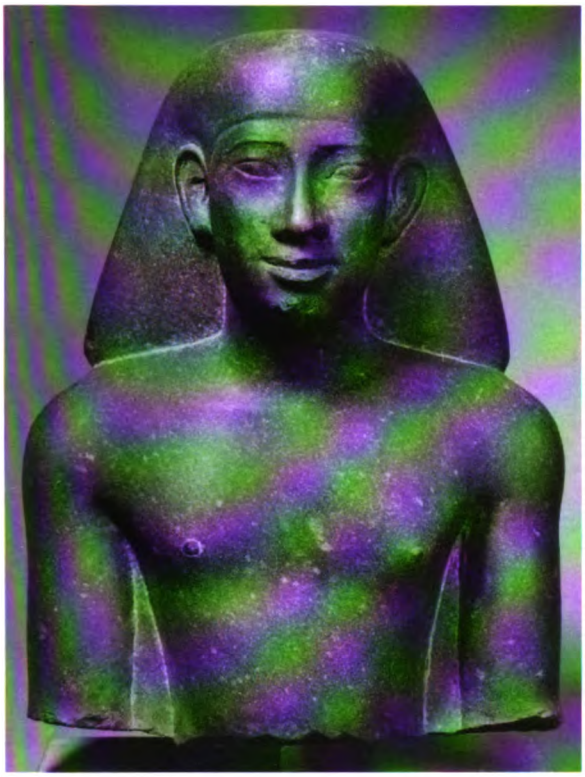

Figs. 9–10. MME 1986:1.

slightly receding and its contour continues almost unnoticeably into that of the nose. The chin seems to have been slightly receding. The base descends strongly towards the neck. The cheeks are evenly rounded all the way down. The maximum protrusion in three-quarter profile is located at the level of the yokebones. Below the eyes, though, there are depressions all along and extending towards the nose.

The eyes are narrow, elongated and slanted. The eyeballs are somewhat globular. The lower eyelid is plain, the upper one is modelled as a ridge. No cosmetic lines are indicated. The eyebrows are executed in thin relief. They run horizontally above the eyes, descending and diminishing in width at the temples.

The nose is straight and rather big. It is broader than the distance between the eyes. The nostrils are oblong and the wings are plastically modelled. The area of the philtrum is large and shows an almost flat, jutting outline in profile.

The measuredly smiling mouth is broader than the nose. The lips are almost of equal thickness and have a flat surface in profile. The upper lip is longer. There is a rather deep incision below the mouth.

The ears are of medium size, organically well modelled and correctly situated.

A benevolent impression is conveyed by the face, though with a touch of ambiguity. The sculpture is a fine example of a mixture of an extreme subtlety in the modelling of volumes and details and a certain angularity in lines, as well as in shapes. There is also a tension in the contrast of horizontal lines and curved ones, for example, the slanted eyes below the horizontal eyebrows and the mouth with a straight, upper lip and a curved, lower one. On the whole, the statue is an attractive example of the schematic "classical" type so current in Egyptian art.[16] The features are idealized in a fashion that justifies a dating in the 26th dynasty. To obtain a more specific dating, it is necessary to examine the royal sculpture of this period, which has lately been discussed by Jack A. Josephson in an article.[17] In reality, it is only the second half of the dynasty that provides enough material to enable us to discern a specific king. As for the sculpture representing Amasis, a considerable number have a "horsey" look, which means a long face with small, close-set eyes situated disproportionately high in the head.[18] The head of the statue here treated has

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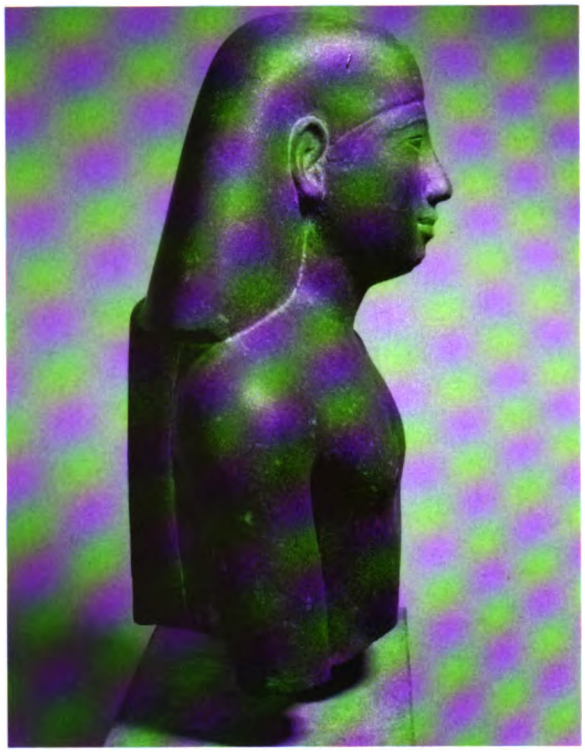

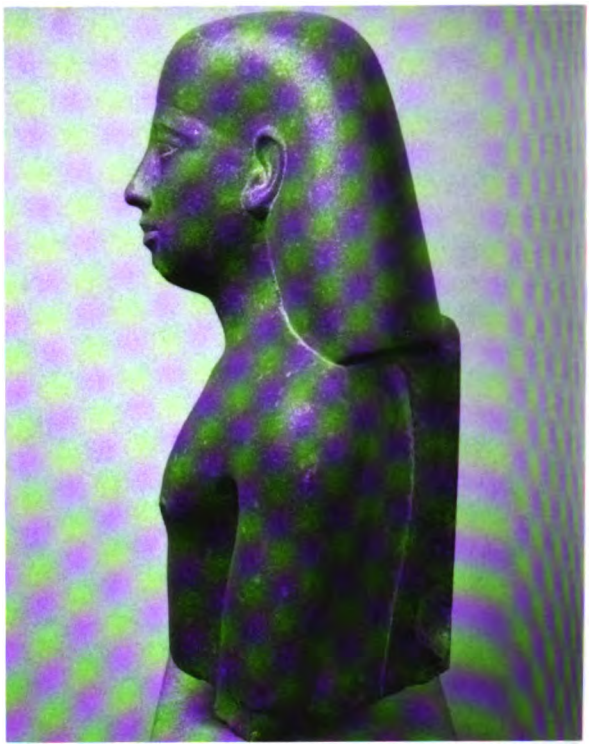

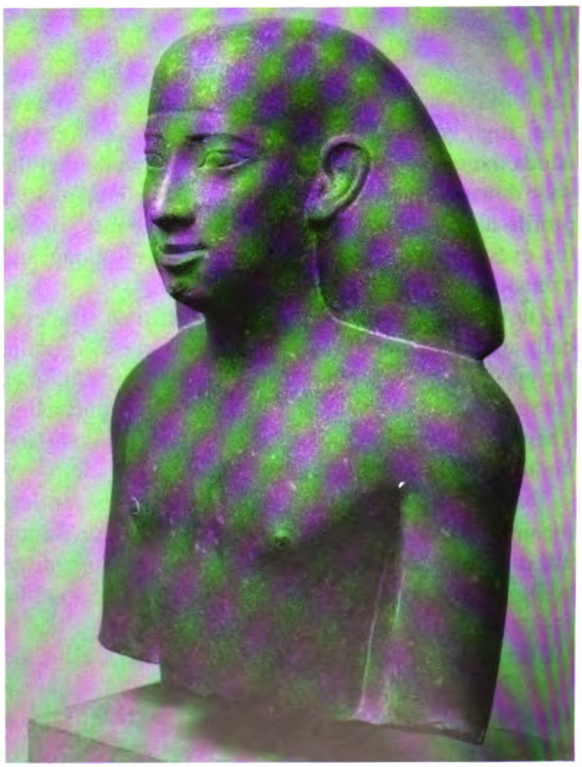

Figs. 11–13. MME 1986:1.

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Fig. 14. Male head (Apries). Cairo, Egyptian Museum. From *MDIK* 48, 1992, pl. 18b.

just a touch of this look, which also conveys an impression of individuality. However, considering the execution of the orbital area, the nose and the mouth in the elongated face, I find it stylistically very close to a beautiful head in Cairo, attributed to Apries by Josephson *(Fig. 14)*.[19]

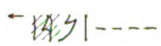
In the present state of research, it does not seem possible to push the question of dating further than to give this figure a likely origin somewhere in the reign of Apries or possibly Amasis.

For a good parallel in the private sculpture of that time, considering the facial shape and the spacing of the organs, compare a head in a New York private collection.[20]

Upper part of a male figure, NME 88 (*Figs. 15-20*)

This sculpture was acquired by the National Museum before 1866 and deposited in the Medelhavsmuseet in 1982.

The material is dark-grey greywacke. The maximum height is 12 cm, the maximum width 9.5 cm and the maximum depth 8.5 cm. The sculpture is broken obliquely below through the shoulders. The sides of the shoulders are cut off and the surface at the back of this area is damaged as well. The crown of the head and part of the forehead are damaged. At the back, there remains the upper part of a rectangular pillar with the beginning of an inscription in sunken relief:



This is the beginning of the word meaning *the revered one*.

The male figure wears a plain wig of shoulder length, somewhat rounded in the outline and leaving the ears uncovered. At the back, the outline is interrupted by the horizontal, upper edge of the back pillar. In front of the ears, hair patches are incised.

The face has an elongated U-shape with evenly rounded cheeks. Both jaws are situated well in front of the root of the nose, the upper in front of the lower one. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is located at the level of the yokebones. The base of the chin descends strongly towards the rather long neck.

The elongated, almond-shaped eyes are of medium size and slightly slanted, the left one more so. The eyeballs are somewhat globular. The rim of the upper eyelid is in relief, the lower one is plain, and no cosmetic lines are indicated. The modelling of the right eye is more careless. The eyebrows are executed in relief and run horizontally well above the eyes. There are shallow depressions all along below the eyes.

The damaged nose is long and thin at the root, but much broader than the distance between the eyes below. Large wings are indicated by incisions and, judging by the remaining part, the nose was big.

The mouth and the area of the philtrum are damaged. The mouth is about as broad as the nose and slightly smiling.

The ears are large, situated slightly too high and rather schematic as to the modelling.

On the whole, the facial shape and the proportions and spacing of the sensory organs (apart from the very broad nose) give an impression of harmony. The head is a fine example of the schematic modelling with a long tradition in Egyptian art referred to above.[21] It accords in style with the 26th dynasty and more precisely with the statues representing Apries.[22] There are also good parallels in the private sculpture dated to this reign.[23]

It is not possible to draw any definitive conclusions as to the attitude of the depicted male from the preserved fragment.

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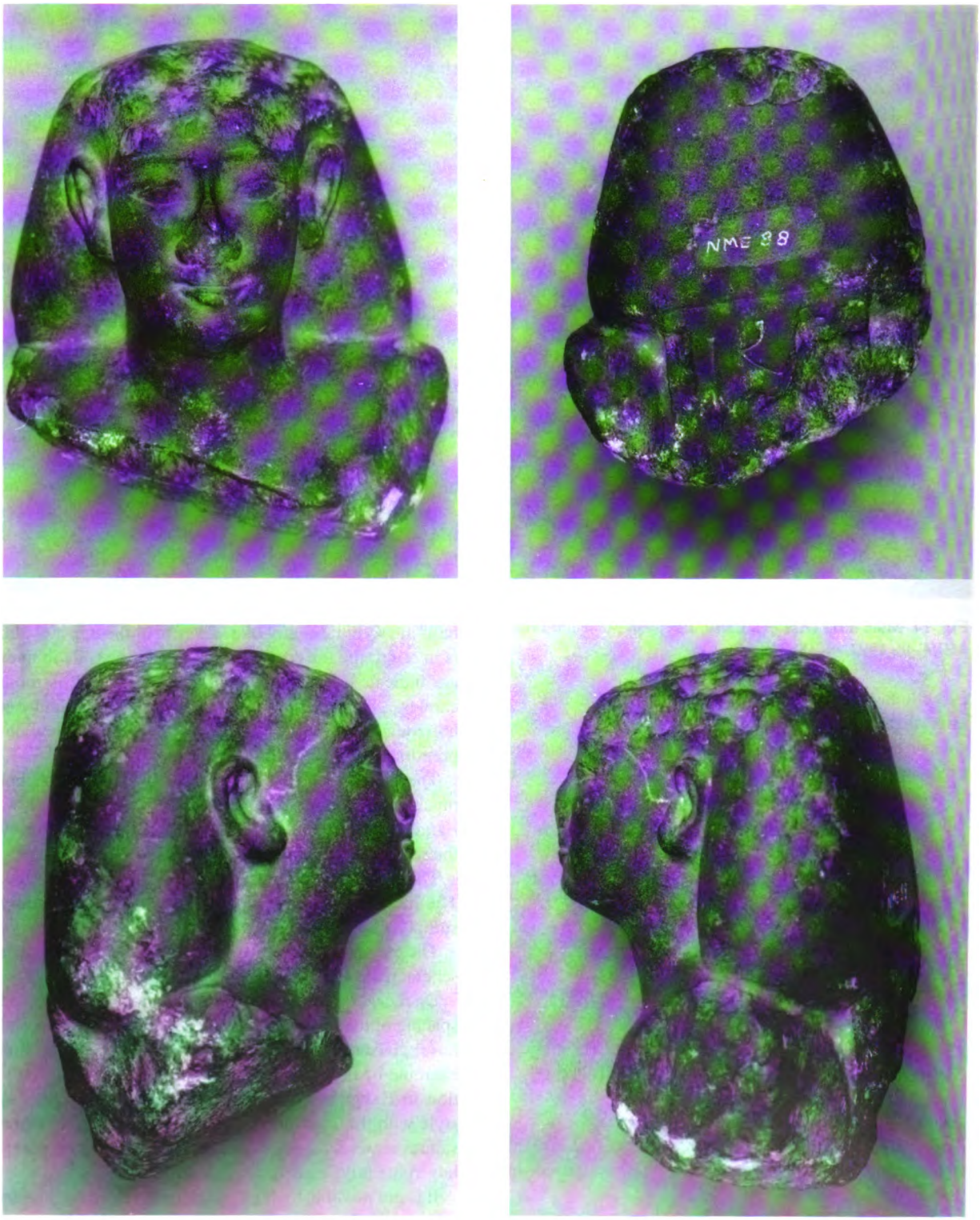

Figs. 15–18. NME 88.

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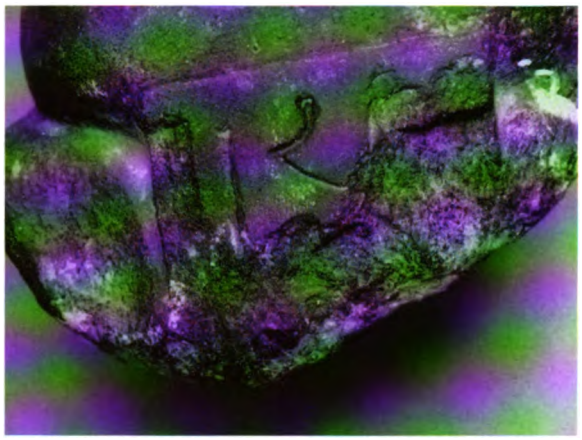

Figs. 19–20. NME 88.

Head of a male, MM 31412 (*Figs. 21- 25*)

The head came into the possession of the Medelhavsmuseet before 1954, but there are no records indicating the provenience. The material is black, highly polished basalt. The maximum height is 11 cm, the maximum width 8 cm and the maximum depth 11 cm. The head has been broken off at the upper part of the neck. At the back, there are traces of a rectangular pillar, which has been partly restored in dark-coloured plaster. The neck to the right of the pillar is damaged and has been restored in plaster covered by a dark, soft material, possibly wax. The right side of the smashed nose is partly restored in the same material, as well as the middle part of the mouth. The chin is slightly damaged on the right side. On the crown, there is a restoration in plaster.

The head with the skull shaven is held in an uplifted position. The facial shape is an elongated oval with an almost pointed chin, plastically separated from the full cheeks. The shaven skull widens above the ears. The temples seem squeezed in relation to the significant volume of the skull, which extends backwards as well. The forehead and skull are not plastically distinguished, nor are the cheeks, which just continue on to the thick neck. A heavy double chin is depicted. Both jaws are positioned in front of the root of the nose, the upper well in front of the lower one. The maximum protrusion in three-quarter profile of the cheek is at the level of the yokebones. There are deep depressions all along below the eyes, as well as at the wings of the nose, which result in a separate volume right above the upper edge of the wings.

The medium-sized eyes are almond-shaped and situated rather horizontally. The rim of the upper eyelid is in relief and drawn out beyond the lower one, which is plain, apart from the inner canthi. The eyeballs are slightly globular. The superciliary arches are modelled as an edge descending in an elongated curve from the root of the nose towards the temples.

The nose is smashed. Traces show that it was long and thin at the root and broader below than the distance between the eyes. The wings are plastically separately modelled.

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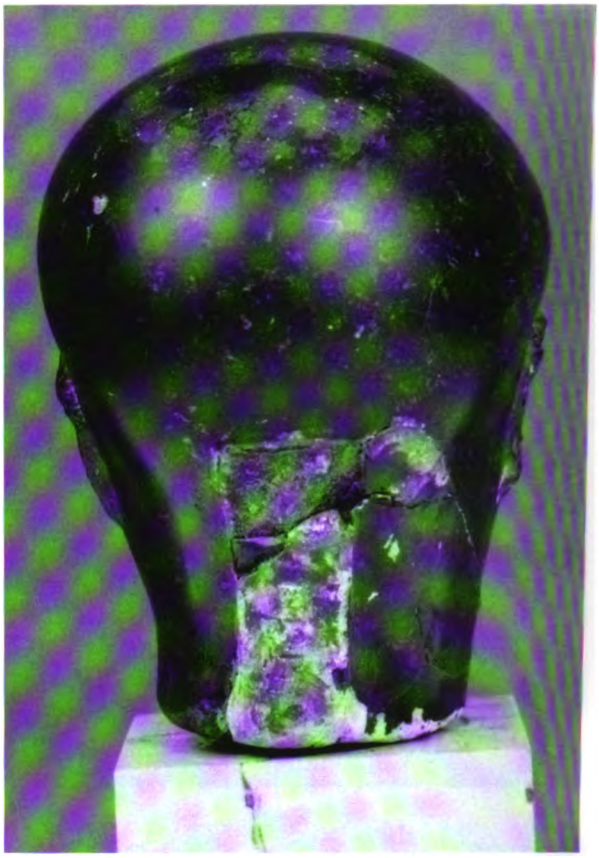

Figs. 21–22. MM 31412.

The partly restored mouth is smiling. It is wider than the nose and there are rounded depressions at the corners. The lower lip diminishes more towards the corners than the upper one.

The ears are smashed. Traces show that they were well modelled, rather large and highly situated and close to the skull.

The head is, although damaged, a fine piece of work. The expression is a pleasant one with a moderate smile. It belongs to a group of heads called "Egyptian egghead portraits" and there are plenty of parallels.[24] The term "eggheads", differently defined by different scholars,[25] is here accepted as assigned to a category of heads with a highly domed forehead, a shaven skull without detailed modelling and a schematic face. The head here treated is a typical example of this category. B.V. Bothmer suggests that these heads imitate the form of an infant's hairless and elongated head, expressing "the Egyptians' yearning for a youthful appearance in life eternal."[26] The shape and the symbolism recall examples from the Amarna Period; the face untouched by time and the skull expressing expansion into a vaster context.

The eggheads are generally dated to the fourth century B.C., occasionally extending into the following century.[27] The head in Stockholm bears no inscription as to its date of origin and there is no particularly similar egghead "securely" dated. It is therefore dated to the timespan referred to above, with no further precision.

It is not possible to state whether the head was part of a seated or a standing statue.

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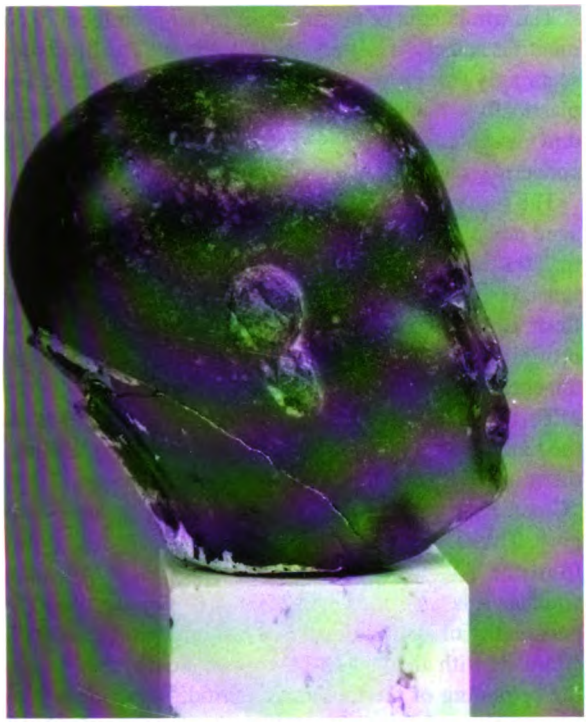

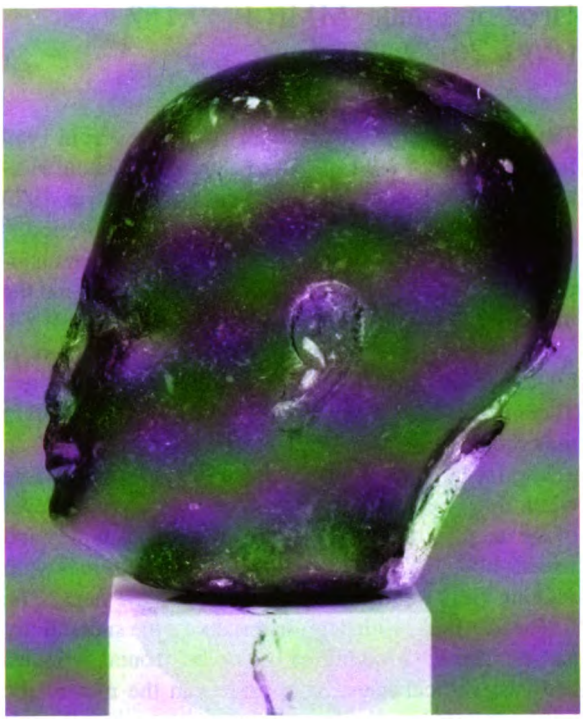

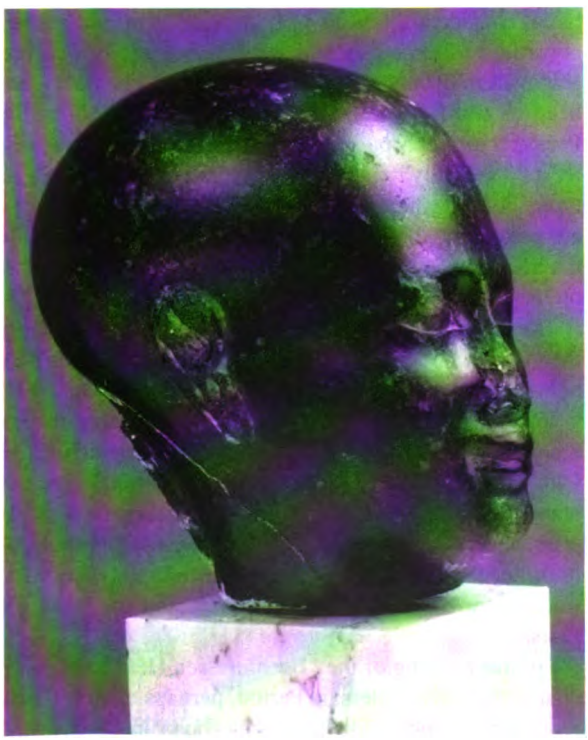

Figs. 23–25. MM 31412.

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Head of a male, MME 1969:157 (*Figs. 26-29*)

The head was acquired by the Medelhavsmuseet in 1969 from the collection of the Swedish artist Reinhold Holtermann. A photograph of it was published in 1970 together with a note ascribing it to the Saitic Period.[28] The material is black, lightly polished basalt. The maximum height is 10 cm, the maximum width 6 cm and the maximum depth 4 cm.

The back of the head, including the area of the ears, is broken off. The nose, mouth and chin are smashed. There is damage on the surface of the right cheek and in the orbital area.

The face is very long and fleshy. It shows the same width from the level of the yokebones down to the level of the mouth. It decreases in width at the temples and widens above. The heavy chin is rounded *en face* with sagging flesh below, extending towards the neck. The forehead is high, with depressions above the superciliary arches. There are additionally two horizontal wrinkles and two vertical ones, extending from the root of the nose, indicated on the forehead. The upper jaw is positioned well in front of the root of the nose, the lower about in line with that point of reference. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is located at the level of the yokebones. The sagging flesh of the face is very clearly rendered. There are deep depressions all along and well below the eyes, resulting in a plastic ridge at the level of the wings of the nose. From that point extend, obliquely downwards, very pronounced, plastically modelled, nasio-labial lines. Parallel to these lines, further beyond on the cheeks, there is a depression as well.

The almond-shaped eyes are rather small and narrow and somewhat oblique. The rim of the upper eyelid is rendered in relief and extends slightly beyond the lower, plain one, ending in a pointed shape. The eyeballs are somewhat globular. The damaged area of the superciliary arches seems to have been plastically modelled, with no eyebrows indicated in relief. The superciliary arches run horizontally from the root of the nose, gradually descending towards the temples.

The remains of the smashed nose show that it was long, rather fleshy and much broader below, broader than the distance between the eyes. The wings and the nostrils are plastically distinctly modelled. The philtrum is plastically modelled and shows a concave outline in profile. The distance between the nose and the mouth is considerable.

The whole area of the mouth is rather prominent. The mouth is somewhat broader than the nose. The lips were seemingly full and do not join at the corners. There are plastically modelled folds at the corners, extending both downwards and upwards. The expression is a serious, concerned one.

The furrowed face with sagging flesh is that of a bald, aged man. The modelling is very plastic and in a "realistic" tradition. The shapes of the eyeballs are clearly sensed below the skin and the way in which the sagging flesh is formed in parallel outlines, clearly visible in profile and further stressed by parallel depressions on the cheeks, is fascinating.

This head belongs to a category of heads dating from the Late Period that are executed in a "realistic" fashion, often in basalt or other kinds of hard, dark stone.[29] The "Green Head" in Berlin is the most famous in this category. The dating of this head is controversial and varies from the 26th dynasty to 30 B.C. It is also disputed whether it is a portrait, in the sense of representing the personality of an individual in a fashion that it cannot be confused with another. H. Drerup, who dates the head to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period,[30] considers it to be a product of a tradition thousands of years old. However, according to him, the modelling is limited to an exaggerated study of the surface and thus the head is not a portrait in a deeper sense.[31] B.V. Bothmer, on the other hand, considers the head to be a portrait in this sense; according to him, it is a product of a maturity not yet achieved in the early Ptolemaic Period and he dates the head to 100-50 B.C.[32] A dating in the Late Ptolemaic Period is also accepted by R. Bianchi.[33] The impossibility of "securely" dating the "Berlin Green Head" is typical of the whole category. Generally, only the heads are preserved, thus making it impossible to reconstruct the historical context as originally given by inscriptions on the back pillar.

The head in Stockholm shows stylistic affinities with the "Berlin Green Head", although the facial shape is heavier below and the modelling is more open and from within. In Paris, there is a head, dated by Drerup in the second century B.C., that also shows stylistic affinities with the present head, but here the modelling is more open and looser.[34] Accepting a likely change to a more pronounced "realistic" modelling as regards this category of heads, the head in Stockholm belongs stylistically somewhere between the Berlin head and the head in Paris.

I prefer a dating of the "Berlin Green Head" not later than in the early Ptolemaic Period, perhaps earlier. Consequently, I find it likely that the head in Stockholm

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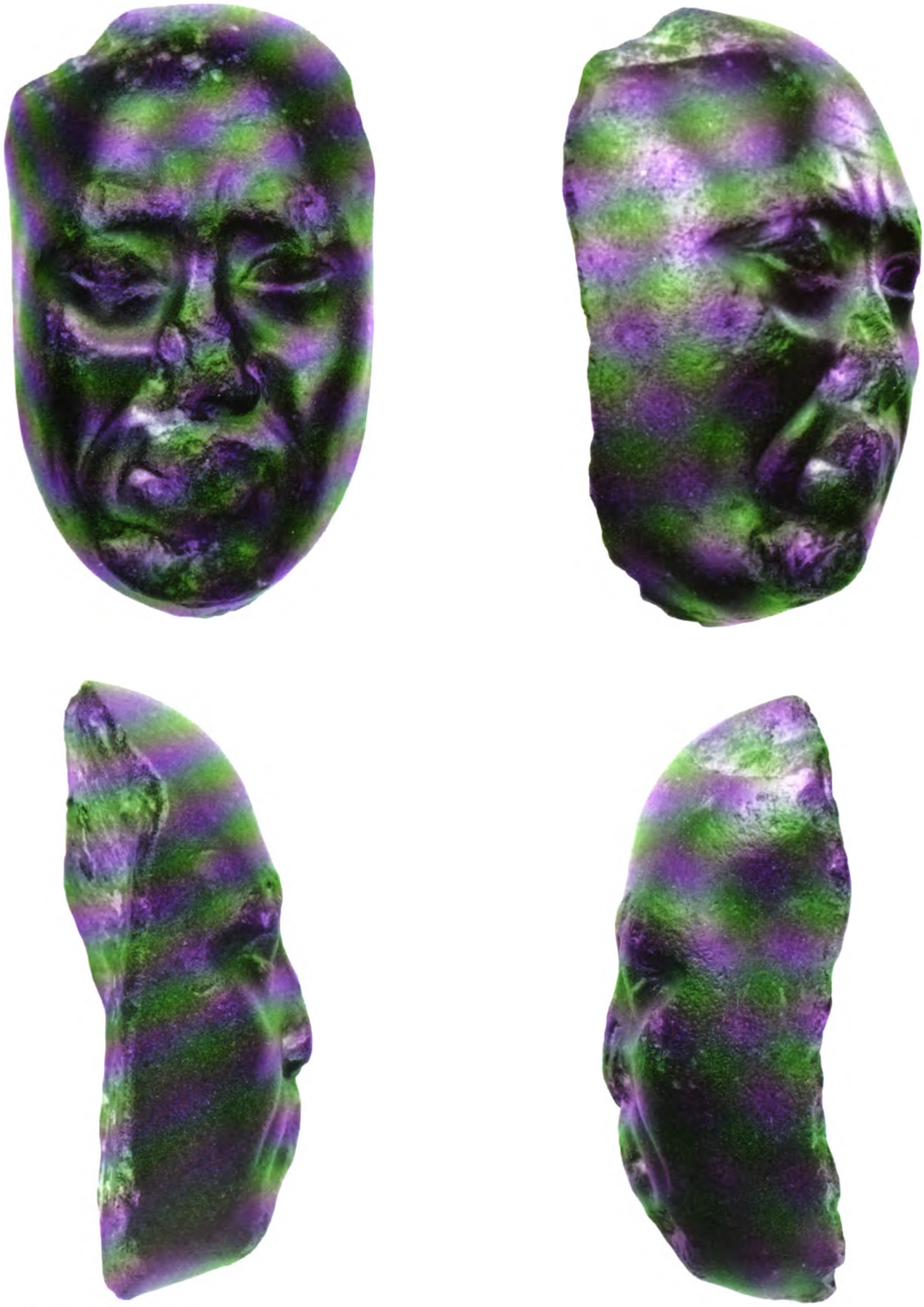

Figs. 26–29. MME 1969:157.

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originated in the period 250—150 B.C. There are other related heads, for example, the head of General Teos II in Cairo, commonly dated to 250 B.C.,[35] and a second head in Berlin.[36]

The above pieces are from private statues that were originally put up in temples. The habit of placing statues of private persons in temples can be traced as far back as the First Intermediate Period.[37] The purpose was twofold. The statue would enable the depicted person to take part in the daily rituals of offerings to the gods in the temple but was also present as a kind of a memorial. In the Late Period, it was possible to place a statue of oneself in a temple even during one's lifetime. Such statues often depict priests, whose power increased during that time and who were often represented in contemporary art.

Ingegerd Lindblad
Medelhavsmuseet

Abbreviations

Wolf	W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens, Gestalt und Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1957.
Josephson	J.A. Josephson, 'Royal sculpture of the later XXVI dynasty', *MDIK* 48, 1992.

[1] NME 88, MM 31412 and MME 1969:157.
[2] MME 1981:15.
[3] MME 1986:1.
[4] B. Peterson, in *Medelhavsmuseet - en introduktion*, Stockholm 1982, 94f.
[5] For this reading of the name, see H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Vol. II, Glückstadt/Hamburg 1952, 290,7. An account of the possible reading of the name as "Montemhat" is given by J. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, Cairo 1961, 246f.
[6] E. Russman, *The representation of the King in the XXVth dynasty*, Wetteren 1974.
[7] Wolf, figs. 627, 630 and 631.
[8] Wolf, fig. 630.
[9] *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III. *Les grandes époques. La statuaire*, Paris 1958, pl. 88:2.
[10] Peterson (supra n. 4).
[11] R. El-Sayed, 'Deux statues de la cachette de Karnak', *BIFAO* 87, 1987, 171-175, pls. 29-31.
[12] El-Sayed (supra n. 11), 175.
[13] London sale: Sale Catalogue, Lt.- Com. J. Whitaker Maitland Collection, Sotheby, London, 30 April 1935, no. 24; Switzerland sale: Auktionskatalog: The Ernest Brummer Collection, Galerie Koller and Spink & Son, Zürich 1979, vol II, no. 519, 48 f.; B. Peterson, 'Gunstlingen i kungens palats', in *Medelhavsmuseet 1982-1989* (Medelhavsmuseet, Skrifter 12), Stockholm 1989, 38f.; id., 'Egypten och Sverige från 1700-talet till idag', in J. Vercoutter, *På spaning efter det glömda Egypten* (translated from the French original: *A la recherche de l'Égypte oubliée*, Paris 1986), Trieste 1991, 153.
[14] *Vom Euphrat zum Nil*, Egg/Zürich 1985, no. 19.
[15] Could it be the beginning of the word *wbn*? Perhaps to be read as "excessive" (of justice).
[16] I. Lindblad, 'Two canopic lids illustrating different tendencies in Egyptian art', *MedMusB* 26-27, 1991-1992, 20.
[17] Josephson, 93-97, pls. 16-19.
[18] Josephson, 96.
[19] Josephson, 95f., pl. 18b.
[20] *Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*. New York 1960, pl. 43, no. 46.
[21] Lindblad (supra n. 16).
[22] Josephson, pl. 16b-c.
[23] *Egyptian sculpture* (supra n. 20), no. 45, pl. 42, and no. 47, pl. 43. No. 45 also has the same horizontal outline of the shoulders.
[24] See, for example, Wolf, 628, fig. 659; E. Scamuzzi, *Egyptian art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin*, Turin 1964, pl. C; S. Wood, 'Eggheads and Roman portraiture', *JARCE* 24, 1987, figs. 7-8.
[25] Wood (supra n. 24), 131-134.
[26] Wood (supra n. 24), 133 with references.
[27] See n. 24.
[28] Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok, Stockholm 1970, 227.
[29] Wolf, figs. 660-666.
[30] H. Drerup, *Ägyptische Bildnisköpfe griechischer und römischer Zeit* (Orbis Antiquus, 3), Münster 1950, 6.
[31] Drerup (supra n. 30), 6-8.
[32] See *Egyptian sculpture* (supra n. 20), 164f.
[33] Wood (supra n. 24), 136.
[34] Drerup (supra n. 30), 9f., pl. 4.
[35] *Egyptian sculpture* (supra n. 20), pl. 94, fig. 250.
[36] Wolf, fig. 661.
[37] E. Otto, 'Zur Bedeutung der ägyptischen Tempelstatue seit dem Neuen Reich', *Orientalia* 17, 1948, 448-46.

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A Remarkable Prothesis Scene on a White Lekythos in Stockholm

John Burns

Among the large collection of white-ground lekythoi transferred some years ago from the National Museum in Stockholm to the Medelhavsmuseet on extended loan, is one that depicts a fascinating and important version of the prothesis, the laying out of the deceased on a bier for relatives and friends to pay their last respects.[1]

Stockholm NM Ant 413 (*Figs. 1-4*) Cat. 27 is composed of many fragments, with parts of the body missing, forming a large lekythos 387 mm high and 92 mm wide at the shoulder. The shape is a canonical standard cylinder lekythos, with the body gently curving towards the foot and the trumpet shaped mouth pleasingly proportioned, not, therefore, a late shape with elongated proportions such as are mostly found in the last decade of the 5th century BC. The white slip covers the body and shoulder, leaving the neck and mouth, the strap handle (inside and outside), the lower body and upper surface of the foot painted in black glaze. The outer edge of the foot is reserved. None of the expected subsidiary decoration on the shoulder or in the pattern band, marking the upper edge of the body scene, survives. Matt orangey-brown lines delineate the upper and lower limits of the field on the body. The scene itself is painted in matt red outlines, while no added colours survive for details of dress and objects.

The Stockholm prothesis scene is unremarkable in many of its details. In one major aspect, however, it breaks the fundamental established artistic convention for this scene type, which had lasted almost without exception for over 300 years, because the deceased lies on the bier, with the head at the left of the scene, propped upright by a large pillow, facing right.

Almost all extant Attic versions of the prothesis depict the body with the head at the right, facing left. The significance of the Stockholm variation lies in the fact that prothesis scenes are among the most formalised scene types in Attic painting, changing little from their first appearances.

A brief review of the development of the prothesis scene in Attic painting is appropriate at this point, since it shows the manner in which the scene evolved into the comparatively simple formula found on no more than 31 known white lekythoi.

An MG II krater, usually dated about 750 BC[2] is considered the earliest vase with a prothesis following the Mycenean period. Prothesis scenes then appear on a limited range of shapes in the LG and Early Protoattic periods: the pedestalled krater and belly-handled amphora followed by neck-amphora and hydria. With the advent of the Black and White Style, smaller vases can be decorated with the prothesis, such as two mugs from the Kerameikos.[3]

The last quarter of the 7th century BC saw a change in tomb design with the introduction of built tombs, whose earth cores were enclosed in more durable mud-brick or stone. Contemporary sets of black-figure clay plaques were probably intended for the decoration of the tomb.[4] These show, on a main plaque, the bier with the deceased and a small number of mourning women while further plaques depict other mourners.[5]

In the first quarter of the 6th century BC, individual painters produced prothesis scenes both on plaques and on funerary loutrophoroi,[6] the shape which, to a great extent, continued to specialise in prothesis and funerary scenes.

During the middle years of the 6th century the series of plaques began to be replaced by a single plaque which encompassed all the elements of the prothesis composition, as on a vase. Prothesis then appears not only on such single plaques, but also on an increasingly varied repertoire of shapes. A proto-A type cup by Lydos[7] is one of the earliest in this sequence, and phormiskoi, shaped like rattles or the bags that held astragals, begin

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Fig. 1. Stockholm, NM Ant 413 (cat. no. 27).

to be found with prothesis scenes.[8]

By the end of the 6th century, the motif of the cavalcade of mourning horsemen is added to the standard prothesis, as on an amphoriskos in Berlin.[9] At this time, the Sappho Painter widens the scope of funerary iconography on his loutrophoroi,[10] reflecting a broader interest in the proceedings surrounding the death and burial of the deceased.[11] The Sappho Painter's companion, the Theseus Painter, brings the prothesis back to drinking vessels, on a small number of exquisite skyphoi.[12] It is with the Theseus Painter that the prothesis scene is first found depicted on a white ground, on one of his alabastra, dated as late as 470 BC,[13] only some ten years before the earliest of the extant protheseis on white lekythoi. There is an obvious structural link between the decoration of alabastron and lekythos bodies.

The iconography of the prothesis prior to its introduction on white lekythoi varies only in matters of detail. The body of the deceased, naked in some late 8th century representations, is usually wrapped in a shroud or decorated garment, head propped up by pillows and laid out facing from right to left.[14]

The bier itself consists of a kline which in some early representations has plain or turned legs,[15] but in the majority of examples in both black and red-figure, through the 6th and 5th centuries, has legs with a pair of volutes at the head; the type B kline, as defined by H. Kyrieleis.[16]

In most scenes there are several mourners immediately next to the body, almost without exception women, which reflects the known importance of women in the preparation of the body for burial and the singing of the lament over the corpse.[17] A fragmentary black-figure loutrophoros in the Kerameikos shows the unusual scene of a youth standing in front of two women, at the far side of the bier, stretching out his hand over the head of a female body, as if placing a wreath on it.[18] The female figures beside the body are normally considered the close female relatives of the deceased, identified specifically by inscriptions on plaques by the Sappho Painter, in particular Louvre MNB 905.[19] In this example, the mother stands by the dead youth's head and a small sister stands in front of the bier nearby. At the head of the bier, i.e. to the right of the end of the bier, stands an aunt and other aunts are identified mourning alongside the bier. The father stands at the foot of the bier, turned away from the body saluting approaching men, amongst whom is a brother. This Louvre plaque is exceptional, not only in the detailed identification of the relatives of the deceased, but also in the numbers crowded on to one plaque.

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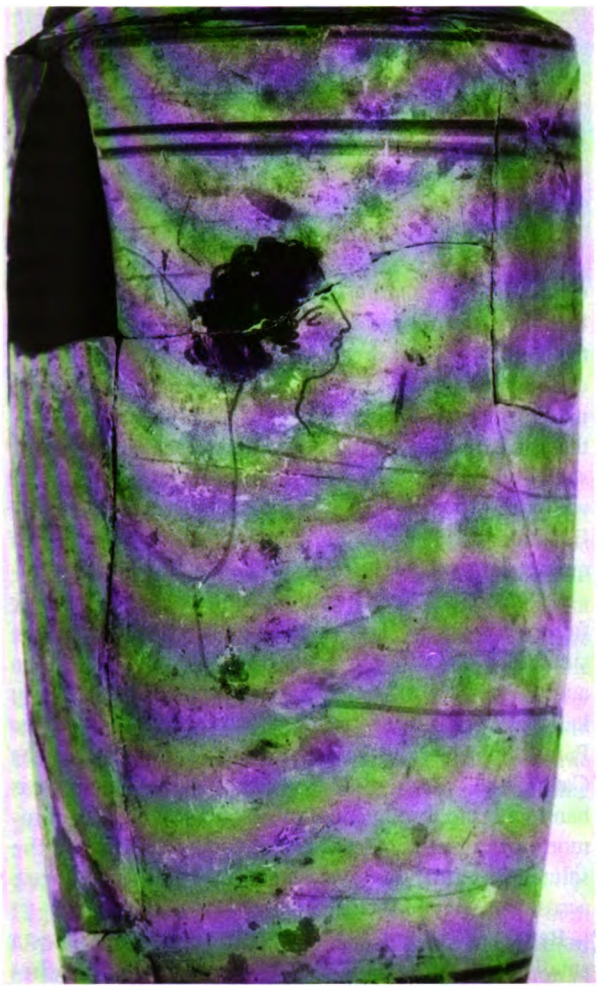

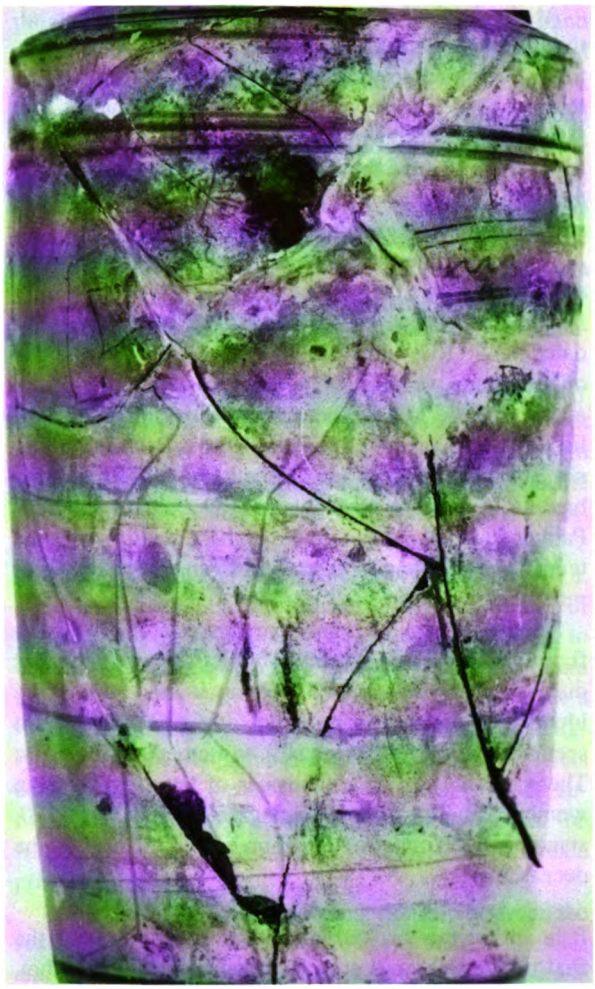

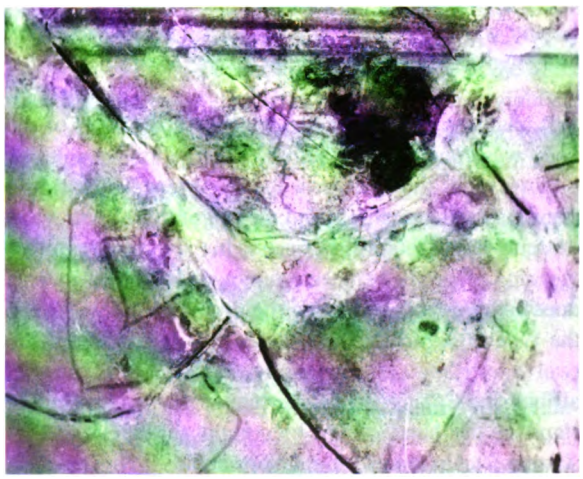

Figs. 2–4. Stockholm, NM Ant 413 (cat. no. 27), details. Photographs (Figs. 1–4): courtesy Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

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At the beginning of the 5th century, however, although some black and red-figure prothesis scenes continue to contain several figures, such as a black-figure loutrophoros with seven women and a girl on all four sides of a bier,[20] there emerges a tendency to show lesser numbers of figures tending the body. A phormiskos of approximately the same date as the previous loutrophoros depicts only three women at the bier.[21]

This is not due merely to restricted space on a small vase shape, since there is the example of another black-figure loutrophoros Athens NM 12947, unattributed and dated *c.* 480 BC, which again depicts the body attended only by three women, one at the head, one in the centre and one at the foot. Only these three positions are utilised by the painters of white-ground lekythoi, who do not, as far as is known, ever place a figure in front of the bier. A red-figure loutrophoros by the Kleophrades Painter shows that even on the highest quality vases the tendency towards simplification down to three or four mourners is strong.[22]

Despite the limited number of figures at the bier, red-figure protheseis occasionally depict more extravagant displays of grief, such as a kneeling woman.[23] Also, the identity of the mourners is no longer confined, as it seems to have been previously, to immediate relations. There are at least three instances of tattooed Thracian women at the bier side, in one case, Athens NM 1170, standing at the important position behind the head of the deceased.[24]

It is within this background of simplification that the first prothesis scenes appear on white-ground lekythoi. The earliest of these, by the Sabouroff Painter Cat. 1, is the only one painted in glaze outlines and alone is certainly from the second quarter of the 5th century BC.[25] The lekythos shows three figures (the maximum number on any white lekythos); a youth behind the head of the bier, two women at the body—at the centre and at the foot.

It has been noted that the position at the head of the body was considered to be of some importance and one might expect that the presence or absence of a figure standing in that position, and the sex of that figure when present, would retain significance in the interpretation of the type of prothesis scene depicted. Indeed, a pattern does emerge from analysing the protheseis according to the type of figure at the head of the deceased. Of the twelve lekythoi with a male present Cat. 1-11 (Group I), all but one Cat. 26 depict the man at the head. Women stand at the head of the bier eight times Cat. 12-19 (Group II). On ten lekythoi no one stands in this position Cat. 20-29 (Group III). Two versions of the prothesis are unidentifiable Cat. 30, 31, Cat. 30 being only a tiny fragment.

The Stockholm prothesis scene falls into the third group, with no one at the head, just a single female mourner. It will be seen that this is a feature which emerges in the last quarter of the 5th century, near the end of the sequence of white lekythos production.

Group I. Man standing at the head of the bier

In eight of the prothesis scenes with a male at the head of the bier, the male is dressed in a himation facing the bier and raising his right hand to his head in the traditional masculine gesture of mourning. The earliest extant prothesis lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter, however, Cat. 1 shows the youth at the head wrapped in his himation which covers the back of his head and leaves only the fingers of one hand visible,[26] an innovative depiction of quiet grief, comparable with the early classical portrayals of the retired Achilles but not hitherto seen in directly funerary contexts. The youth is younger but otherwise similar to the heavily mantled grieving men, who in addition cover their faces with one hand, in two slightly later grave-side scenes on white lekythoi by the Achilles Painter.[27] One of the Quadrate Painter's prothesis scenes Cat. 6 shows the youth at the head of the bier raising his hand with the displayed palm gesture, which was common in the black and red-figure protheseis but for the salutation of arriving guests rather than as in this case across the body of the deceased.[28]

Between the youth and a lone mourning woman flies a small silhouette *eidolon*, also mourning. Only two other prothesis lekythoi depict *eidola*, both dating within the last twenty-five years of the 5th century BC. The version by the Woman Painter Cat. 17 (*Fig. 5*) shows three *eidola* flying in the spaces between the mourners and the fan in one of their hands. The last version is on one of the Group of Huge Lekythoi Cat. 11, where a single *eidolon* with a more substantial body and wings flies near the foot of the deceased. *Eidola* in some numbers characterize some of the Charon scenes on white-ground lekythoi, particularly those by the Sabouroff Painter, but they also sometimes appear singly flying above or alongside figures standing beside the tomb,[29] raising the question whether they are placed near the figure whom they mourn.

The lekythos that belongs to the Group of Huge Lekythoi (Cat. 11) depicts an old man at the head of the bier, his hair and beard painted in grey, who leans over and touches the head of the dead youth. His right hand is raised behind rather than on top of his own head as

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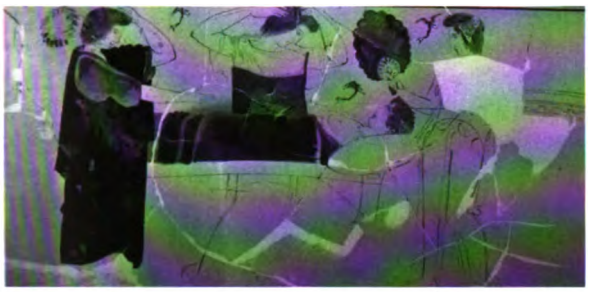

Fig. 5. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3748 (cat. no. 17). From Benndorf, pl. 33.

would be normal.[30]

Apart from these exceptions, the male figures differ only slightly in the prothesis scenes, but the women standing at the bier can tear their hair or lean forward to touch the face of the deceased.[31] The less important figure of the woman at the foot of the bier often has one hand to her head and the other stretched out across the length of the body.[32] It is again the Sabouroff Painter who prodvides an interesting variation on his lekythos in Houston Cat. 3 by showing the woman covering one side of her face with her hand in a more individual mourning gesture.[33]

Group II. Woman standing at the head of the bier

Eight lekythoi depict a woman at the head of the bier. Unlike the figure at the foot, there is more freeedom of pose for those in this important position. The version in Boston Cat. 12 which is almost certainly by the Sabouroff Painter originally although quite heavily restored is quite rigid, with strong verticals displayed by the women's clothing. Two slightly later lekythoi Cat. 13, 15, fully in the third quarter of the 5th century, are less stiff in their composition, since there are only two women present, who lean towards each other to close the scene and focus in on the body. The woman at the head mourns with one hand and holds a basket of *taeniae* behind her in the other.

The complete scene from which the fine fragment in the Kerameikos inv. 3145 Cat. 14 came is likely to have had three figures, since the second mourner is closer to the woman behind the head than is usual in two figure scenes. Only on this fragment and Vienna 3748 Cat. 17 does the woman at the head of the bier wear a dark peplos instead of a chiton (sometimes with a himation). The woman on the Vienna lekythos carries a basket and a fan,[34] but the Kerameikos fragment breaks off at this point and only allows us to see the woman's right hand raised to her chin in a gesture of worry.[35] The style and detail of the Kerameikos fragment, which includes a wreath and mirror or distaff in the field above the dead woman's head,[36] suggests a richly detailed representation of the prothesis, to the same degree as the Woman Painter's version in Vienna, where the dead woman is decked out in her ear-rings and necklace.[37] It seems that the wearing of the peplos, light or dark, is no more than a variation in detail which was preferable when there were three figures, to avoid the monotony of chiton and himation.[38]

A small fragment, Harvard 65.1908 Cat.16, probably comes from a similar scene by the Woman Painter, but this time the woman at the head of the bier,[39] again with a basket, wears the form of decorated overdress,the *ependytes*, particularly favoured by the Woman Painter.[40]

In this group of eight lekythoi, five Cat. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 certainly depict the prothesis of a female.[41] The sex of the deceased on Toronto 919.5.53 Cat. 13 is difficult to determine, but Boston 95.46 Cat.12 is the only certain male corpse. It seems to have been desirable to place a woman at the head of a female prothesis, and interestingly all five of the women in these examples carry baskets as well, although the exact pose or gesture varies between the painters. We may therefore assume that the fragment in Harvard Cat.16 also came from a female prothesis.

There is a clear pattern in the relationship between the sex and the actions of the figure at the head of the bier and the sex of the deceased. Where there is a male prothesis, a man attends the head and the converse is true with female laying out of the dead. The two apparent exceptions Cat. 6, 12 may be explained, in the case of Boston 95.46, as inaccurate restoration while still on the market, but the Quadrate Painter's Louvre MNB 1147 Cat. 6 seems to be a genuine variation. None of the other male figures in protheseis on white lekythoi give the open palm salute and the Quadrate Painter is given to unusual details, such as the shroud patterned with stars and cable Cat. 15, which is not unknown in earlier prothesis scenes in other techniques,[42] but not known on white lekythoi. This same vase in the Louvre S 1667, also shows an elevated *stroma* which is another detail not otherwise depicted so clearly on white lekythoi.[43]

Group III. No person at the head of the bier

The third and final group of white lekythoi with prothesis scenes contains paradoxically both the simplest and least competent draughtsmanship and yet the most inter-

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esting iconographic features. Within this group falls Stockholm NM Ant 413 Cat. 27 with its exceptional orientation of the dead.

Although one might think that the most important position in the hierarchy surrounding the deceased would always be filled, the head of the bier is left vacant on eight occasions. The version which is probably the earliest of these is known only from 19th century drawings Cat. 20 but shows the prothesis of a youth, as are all the identified examples in this group. In this case there are two women attending the deceased, but it is more usual for only one to be shown. The version in Budapest Cat. 21 is typical, with the woman mourner in the centre of the vase. The form of the kline/bier leg is slightly different from normal, being type A with sharper and more complicated turnings.[44]

A later phenomenon is the intrusion of a grave stele at the far right of the prothesis scene Cat. 23, 28, with a lone woman at the centre of the bier.[45] Iconographically, this may be a recollection of those protheseis, both in black and red-figure, which showed the columns of the porch at the head and sometimes at the foot of the bier.[46] At least the stelai on both these lekythoi are a simple type, crowned by mouldings which approximate to the Doric echinus and abacus. There are also a number of conflated grave-side and Charon scenes to be found on white lekythoi in the last third of the 5th century, which may have had some influence.

Having reviewed in brief the prothesis scenes on white lekythoi and their subtle iconography within the constraints of a formalised artistic tradition, it should be clear that the Stockholm lekythos is very important, as a complete break with custom on the one hand, while fully retaining the iconographic features which belong to that tradition. The reasons for this example of a unique orientation of the corpse on white lekythoi can be sought in the work of the painter whose swift and simple style is closest to that of the Stockholm lekythos, the Triglyph Painter.

The manner in which the pillow is drawn on our vase, standing upright, reflects the Triglyph Painter's versions in Athens, Lyons and Paris Cat. 25, 26, 28, *Figs. 6-7*, most closely to that in Paris. The hair of the corpse is particularly close to the hair on Dresden ZV 758,[47] while the line of the nose and the chin matches closely with profiles by the Triglyph Painter on other prothesis lekythoi, again most nearly to the Paris version. The figure of the mourning woman on the Stockholm lekythos illustrates a slightly different type which the Triglyph Painter could draw, with coarser less elegant features. Very close to this woman is the figure at the right of the scene on a white lekythos from the Acropolis in Athens, attributed by Charitonides to group R, but surely by the Triglyph Painter himself.[48] Sir John Beazley must have known of this vase and one can see why he hesitated to attribute it. However, other lekythoi which Beazley did attribute to the Triglyph Painter are too close not to be from the same hand. Another lekythos from the same excavations on the Acropolis show this,[49] as does especially the woman on Berlin 2682.[50]

The corpse on the Stockholm lekythos is wrapped in a shroud which peaks forward in a manner noticeable in the Triglyph Painter's work, although not exclusively so.[51] All these features lead to the attribution to the Triglyph Painter for Stockholm NM Ant 413. The Triglyph Painter, who is known only as a white-ground lekythos painter, utilises unusual details in his scenes and this is particularly true of his four surviving prothesis scenes.

Athens NM 1756 Cat. 25, *Fig. 6* is the best known, but is matched in most particulars with Lyons E288.3 Cat. 26, *Fig. 7*. This last adds a bearded man near the foot of the bier, which does not appear in other extant protheseis on lekythoi. The exceptional details on both these lekythoi are the water-bird standing below the head of the bier and two huge lekythoi standing behind the corpse at the head and the foot.

The water-bird appears quite often in the Triglyph Painter's work, usually held in the hands of a figure sitting beside a tomb.[52] White-ground lekythoi in earlier periods show birds of various species in funerary and apparently domestic scenes, but an early water-bird, probably goose, appears on a white lekythos by the Achilles Painter.[53]

The large lekythoi placed at the head and foot of the biers on these vases are interesting for their positioning and exceptional size. The Reed Painter, who generally precedes the Triglyph Painter, depicts a normal white lekythos standing under the bier in his prothesis scene Cat. 18 and at the end of the century, one of the Group of Huge Lekythoi with a prothesis scene Cat. 11 also depicts this feature. These reflect their use during the preliminaries of the laying out of the dead, but the large lekythoi in the Triglyph Painter's prothesis scenes and in two of his grave-side scenes[54] are a type which can be made in clay or stone and became common in the last quarter of the 5th century, usually used as grave markers.[55]

Bearing in mind the size of some of the Triglyph Painter's lekythoi (the Lyons vase is over 50 cm tall, the Athens version some 46 cm), it seems probable that on

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Fig. 6. Athens, NM 1756 (cat. no. 25). Photograph: courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Fig. 7. Lyons, E 288.3 (cat. no. 26). Photograph: courtesy Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons.

one level the painter used the large lekythoi as unusual elements in the composition, which would draw attention to the types of vases which he painted and sold.[56]

As for the positioning of the lekythoi, there appears to be a practice of placing one of a pair of white lekythoi at each end of a tomb, which is known from a small number of scattered burials.[57] It would seem that in this practice and in the deliberate pairing of vases that the Stockholm lekythos finds its place.

Pairs of stamnoi are shown in a number of cult scenes associated with the Lenaia for Dionysus, standing on either side of the deity's mask or cult statue,[58] all of which examples are by the Villa Giulia Painter. Noticeably, the pairs of stamnoi are themselves depicted on stamnoi. The Villa Giulia Painter is also responsible for a pair of small secondary white-ground lekythoi, now in Munich, each of which depict a seated woman in opposing positions, one holding a skein of wool the other a wreath.[59]

Although not directly paired since they are of different sizes, two red-figure lekythoi by the Phiale Painter show that the concept of linked pairs of vases enters into the scheme of decoration of standard lekythoi as early as 430-425 BC.[60] The arming scenes on both lekythoi are identical in most details, except that they are mirror images of each other, to the extent that the youth fixes his shoulder strap with his left hand in one example and his right in the other, while the woman holding his shield

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and helmet is reversed.

The Stockholm prothesis scene is a mirror image of the usual prothesis scenes on white lekythoi. To break the tradition or conventions that governed Attic representations of the prothesis from as early as the 8th century would have required a strong and special reason. The only Attic left to right prothesis otherwise known is that on the 8th century Analatos Painter's hydria in Victoria, discussed in detail by K. Sheedy.[61] He shows that the unusual details of this prothesis are likely to stem from Egyptian predecessors and suggests that the representation is deliberately non-Greek. Less dramatically, but for a similar reason, the prothesis of Patroklos on the exquisite white-ground band of the red-figure squat lekythos by the Eretria Painter breaks convention by showing the mourning Achilles seated on a *klismos* beside the bier, not standing as in all other cases of men mourning. In this example the prothesis is not a representation of any kind of everyday reality, but placed in the heroic mythological context of the Iliad.[62]

The Triglyph Painter's lekythos in Stockholm, therefore, breaks the iconographic conventions probably because it was painted as one of a pair, with its companion piece depicting the prothesis normally oriented from right to left. We are fortunate that the Stockholm lekythos survives, because it shows that details in the iconography of even the least complex vase scenes in the final years of the 5th century are noteworthy as probably more accurate representations of actual practices than sometimes they are given credit.

John Burns
St. Cross College
Oxford
GB-Oxford OX1 3LZ

Catalogue of prothesis scenes on Attic white-ground lekythoi

All measurements are in millimetres.

Group I. Man standing at the head of the bier

1. NEW YORK, MMA 07.286.40, from Athens [H. 317, D. 95]
   Sabouroff Painter, *ARV* 846.190, *Add.* 297, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 38.
2. LONDON, BM D62, from Eretria [H. 332]
   Sabouroff Painter, *ARV* 851.273, *Add.* 297, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 29,2.
3. HOUSTON, MFA 37.8 [H.319, D.102]
   Sabouroff Painter, *ARV* 851.237*bis*, *Para.* 424, *Add.* 297, Hoffmann, *Ten centuries*, Cat. no. 185.
4. MANNHEIM, Cg. 195 [H.358]
   Sabouroff Painter, *ARV* 851.274, *CVA Mannheim* 1, 44, pl. 34,1-2 (=Deutschland 13, pl. 620).
5. AMSTERDAM, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 567, from Athens [H. 390, D. 120]
   Sabouroff Painter [Buschor], *BABesch* 2.1, 1927, 13,*Vereniging van Vrieden APM Amsterdam, Mededelingenblad* 45, 1989, 9.
6. PARIS, Louvre MNB 1147 (L88), from Athens [H. 244, D. 70]
   Quadrate Painter, *ARV* 1237.18, Fairbanks, ix.3, 12.
7. ATHENS, NM 1925 (CC.1652), from Eretria [H. 410]
   Quadrate Painter, *ARV* 1237.21, Fairbanks ix.2, 1.
8. ATHENS
   Quadrate Painter, *ARV* 1237.22.
9. NEW YORK, MMA 23.160.37
   Painter of the New York Hypnos, *ARV* 1242.3, *BMMA* 20, 1924, 49, fig. 3.
10. HARVARD, 1952.75 [H. 278]
    Near the Woman Painter, *ARV* 1376.1, Neugebauer, *ADP*, pl. 75,171.
11. BERLIN, inv. 2684, from Alopeke [H.680]
    Group of the Huge Lekythoi, *ARV* 1390.3, *Add.* 373, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 54,2.

Group II. Woman standing at the head of the bier

12. BOSTON, MFA 95.46 [H. 350]
    Sabouroff Painter [restored, J.C. Burns], Fairbanks 2, pl. 2.
13. TORONTO, 919.5.53 (378) (C.355) (ex van Branteghem), from Athens [H. 318]
    Manner of the Bird Painter, *ARV* 1234.26, *Add.* 352, Robinson, Harcum & Iliffe, pl. 65.
14. ATHENS, Ker. inv. 3145, from the Kerameikos [H. 113]
    Painter of Berlin 2451 [F. Fleten], *AM* 91, 1976, pl. 32,40.

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15. PARIS, Louvre S 1667 (L87), from Athens [H. 251, D. 70]
Quadrate Painter, *ARV* 1237.19, Pottier, *LB*, pl. 1.
16. HARVARD, 65.1908 [95 x 53]
Woman Painter, *ARV* 1372.13, *CVA Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections*, pl. 22,2 (=U.S.A. 8, pl. 360)
17. VIENNA, inv. 3748, from Athens [H. 520, D. 135] *Fig. 5*
Woman Painter, *ARV* 1372.16, *Para.* 485, 524, *Add.* 370, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 44,2.
18. VIENNA, inv. 1969, from Eretria [H. 408, D. 105]
Reed Painter, *ARV* 1382.133, *Para.* 485, Richter, *Furniture*^{2}, fig. 319.
19. ATHENS, private [H. 250]
Fairbanks xiii, 8.

Group III. No person at the head of the bier

20. Once BROOMHALL, Elgin
Sabouroff Painter [J.C. Burns], I. Jenkins, *Adam Buck's Greek vases* (BMOP, 75), London 1989, 57:63(i).
21. BUDAPEST, MFA 77.21.A [H. 229, D. 72]
BMusHongr 46-47, 1976, 52, fig. 38.
22. LEIDEN, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden RO I C2 [H. 389, D. 86].
23. ATHENS, private, from Attica [H. 180]
Fairbanks xiii,9.
24. STRASBOURG, Amandry (ex Northwick Park) [H. 483]
Christie, Sale Cat. 22 June 1965, pl. 27,343.
25. ATHENS, NM 1756 (CC. 1651), from Athens [H. 460, D. 112] *Fig. 6*
Triglyph Painter, *ARV* 1385.4, *Add.* 372, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 51,4.
26. LYONS, E 288.3 (ex van Branteghem) [H. 387, D. 124] *Fig. 7*
Triglyph Painter, *ARV* 1385.5.
27. STOCKHOLM, NM Ant 413 [H. 387, D. 92] *Figs. 1-4*
Triglyph Painter [J.C. Burns].
28. PARIS, Musée Rodin 568, from Athens [H. 265]
Triglyph Painter, *ARV* 1385.6, *CVA Musée Rodin* , pl. 27,4-5 (=France 16, pl. 715)
29. ATHENS, Acropolis, from Athens [H. 220, D. 60]
Triglyph Painter, *ARV* 1387.3, 1692, *AE* 1958, pl. 15,1.

Fragment and unknown piece

30. ATHENS
Quadrate Painter, *ARV* 1237.4.
31. TÜBINGEN, S/10 1720 (E65) [49 x 45]
Quadrate Painter, *ARV* 1237.20, *Add.* 352, *CVA Tübingen* 5, pl. 32,1 (=Deutschland 54, pl. 2649).

Figure 8. Pair of lekythoi from Demir Kapija, Macedonia. **Photograph**: courtesy Archaeological **Museum, Skopje** (cf. n. 57).

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collection curators and museum authorities.

In addition to standard abbreviations, the following abbreviations are also used:

Add.: T. Carpenter *et al.*, *Beazley Addenda*[2], Oxford 1989.

Amsterdam Symposium: *Ancient Greek and related pottery. Proceedings of the international vase symposium in Amsterdam* (ed. H.A.G. Brijder), Amsterdam 1984.

ARV: J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase painters*[2], Oxford 1963.

Benndorf: O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder*, Berlin 1883.

Boardman, *Plaques*: J. Boardman, 'Painted funerary plaques and some remarks on prothesis', *BSA* 50,1955, 51-66.

Conze: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* i-iv, Berlin 1893-1922.

DAI neg.: Photograph in the archives of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.

Fairbanks: A. Fairbanks, *Athenian lekythoi* 1 (with outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground, New York 1907), 2 (in matt color on a white ground, New York 1914).

Garland, *Death*: R. Garland, *The Greek way of death*, London 1985.

Graef & Langlotz: B. Graef & E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin 1925-1933.

Hoffmann, *Ten centuries*: H. Hoffmann, *Ten centuries that shaped the West. Greek and Roman art in Texas collections*, Mainz 1970.

Hornbostel, *Kropatschek*: *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern. Die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatschek* (ed. W. Hornbostel), Mainz 1980.

Ker.: *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen.*

Kurtz, *AWL*: D.C. Kurtz, *Athenian white lekythoi* (Oxford monographs on classical archaeology), Oxford 1975.

Kurtz & Boardman, *Thanatos*: D.C. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Thanatos. Tod und Jenseits bei den Griechen*, Mainz 1985.

Nakayama, *Grabmäler*: N. Nakayama, *Untersuchung der auf weissgrundigen Lekythen dargestellten Grabmäler*, Diss. Freiburg 1982.

Neugebauer, *ADP*: *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz* (ed. K.A. Neugebauer), Berlin 1938.

Para.: J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena*, Oxford 1971.

Pottier, *LB*: E. Pottier, *Études sur les lécythes blancs attiques à répresentations funéraires* (BEFAR, 30), Paris 1883.

Poulsen: V.H. Poulsen, 'Weissgrundige Lekythen der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek', in *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* I, Copenhagen 1931, 162-196.

Richter, *Furniture*[2]: G.M.A. Richter, *The furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London 1966

Robinson, Harcum & Iliffe: D.M. Robinson, C.G. Harcum & J.H. Iliffe, *A catalogue of the Greek vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*, Toronto, Toronto 1930.

Stackelberg: Baron O.M. von Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, Berlin 1837.

Vermeule, *Death*: E. Vermeule, *Aspects of death in early Greek art and poetry* (Sather Classical Lectures, 46), Berkeley & Los Angeles 1979.

[1] D.C. Kurtz, 'Vases for the dead', in *Amsterdam Symposium*, 315; Garland, *Death*, 30; M. Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition*, Cambridge 1974, 6. Plato, *Leges* 12,959a and Pollux 8.65 say that the prothesis should be long enough to establish death and, according to Pollux, that death was not violent.

[2] G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and ekphora in Greek Geometric art* (SIMA, 32), Göteborg 1971, 25, no. 1; *eadem*, *Fighting on land and sea in Greek Geometric art* (ActaAth-4°, 16), Stockholm 1971, 27f., cat. no. B3. For the date: J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric pottery*, London 1968, 23, n. 7, 26-28, 349, n. 10; Th. Rombos, *The iconography of Attic LG II pottery* (SIMA-PB 68), Jonsered 1988, 132, 141, no. 176 suggests this is provincial LG I work.

[3] E.T.H. Brann, *Late Geometric and Protoattic pottery, mid 8th to late 7th century B.C.* (The Athenian Agora, 8), Princeton 1962, 21, 23; J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 84,1964, 217 and R.M. Cook, *Gnomon* 34, 1962, 822 (reviews of Agora 8); S. Morris, *The Black and White style* (Yale Classical monographs, 6), Yale 1984, 84 and n. 185. Ker. inv. 80, *Ker.* vi.2, pls. 14-15, 21; Ker. inv. 1280, *Ker.* vi.2, pls. 12-13, 23.

[4] W. Zschietzschmann, 'Die Darstellungen der Prothesis in der griechischen Kunst', *AM* 53,1928, 21; Boardman, *Plaques*, 51-66; G.M.A. Richter, *BMMA* 1, 1942-3, 80 and n. 2. F. Cordano, '"Morte e pianto rituale" nell'Atene del VI sec. a.c.', *ArchCl* 32, 1980,186-197. On the Exekias plaques, H. Mommsen, 'Der Grabpinax des Exekias mit den trauernden Frauen', in *Amsterdam Symposium*, 329-333, cites M. Robertson, 'A new plaque-fragment by Exekias', *AE* 1978, 91-94 on a new fragment of the plaques. See also H.R. Immerwahr, *Attic script. A survey* (Oxford monographs on classical archaeology), Oxford 1990, 33, no. 140.

An unorthodox view of the plaques is given by J.P. Brooklyn, *Attic black-figure funerary plaques*, Diss. Iowa 1981.

[5] Boardman, *Plaques*, 58, nos. 1 and 2, 59, no. 6; G. Bakir, *Sophilos*, Mainz 1981, 69, cat. A23-25.

[6] L.D. Caskey, *BMFA* 27, 1927, 55. Boston 24.151, *CVA Boston* 2, pl. 67 =U.S.A. 19, pl. 901). J. Boardman, *CVA Oxford* 3 (= Great Britain 14), 22f. Kurtz (supra n. 1), 318, n. 51. Some of the same material in black and red-figure is discussed by H.A. Shapiro, 'The iconography of mourning in Athenian art', *AJA* 95, 1991, 629–656. Shapiro's conclusions on the iconography of white lekythoi, ibid., 648–655, are broadly in keeping with my own studies on iconography.

[7] Ker. HTR 22.138, *ABV* 113.81, *Para.* 45, *Add.* 32; M.H. Tiberios, *Lydos kai to ergon tou, symbole sten ereuna tes Attikes melanomorphes angeiographias*, Athens 1976, 135, no. 87, pls. 42-44; *Ker.* vii.1, 17. Cf. also plate fragments by Lydos, ibid., 129, no. 29, pl. 74b.

[8] J. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge 1911, 76-79; A. Greifenhagen, 'Attische schwarzfigurige Vasen im Akademischen Kunstmuseum zu Bonn', *AA* 1935, 487, n. 1. See R. Lullies, 'At-

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tisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Kerameikos', *JdI* 61-62, 1946-1947, 65; R. Hampe, *Die Stele aus Pharsalos* (107. Winckelmannsprogram), Berlin 1951, 14, n. 22; *idem*, 'Töner ner Phormiskos aus Metapont', *AA* 1976, 192-202; O. Touchefeu-Meynier, 'Un nouveau "phormiskos" à figures noires', *RA* 1972, 93-102; H. Mommsen, 'Irrfahrten des Odysseus. Zu dem Fragment Tübingen S. 10 1507', in *Praestant Interna. Festschrift für U. Hausmann* (ed. B. von Freytag *et al.*), Tübingen 1982, 206, n. 7; D. Schilardi, *The Thespian polyandrion*, Diss. Princeton 1982, 467-470.

[9] Berlin inv. 3334, Zschietzschmann (supra n. 4), Beil. 14,86.

[10] London, BM 1928.7-16.1, *ABL* 229,69; Bonn, Boardman, *Plaques*, 62 under no. 28; Athens, Acropolis 1147, Graef & Langlotz 1, pl. 66.

[11] Brunswick, Bowdoin, *Para.* 247, *Add.* 126; Kurtz & Boardman, *Thanatos*, 177f., figs. 52-54. Athens NM 450, *ABL* 229,59, *CVA Athènes* 1, III H g, pls. 8,1-2, 9,3 (=Grèce 1, pls. 16, 17).

[12] Basle, Cahn, *Para.* 258f., B. Kreuzer, *Frühe Zeichner 1500-500 vor Chr. Catalogue of an exhibition 4.12.1992-4.4.1993*, Freiburg 1992, cat. nos. 129-131.

[13] Havana, Lagunillas no. 140, *ABV* 518.5, *Add.* 129, J. Mertens, *Attic white-ground: its development on shapes other than lekythoi*, Diss. Harvard 1972, 96, pl. 14,3, Kurtz, *AWL*, 133, R. Olmos, *Vasos griegos coleccion candes de Lagunillas*, Zurich 1991, cat. no. 20.

[14] The pillows are to help keep the mouth closed, although chin-straps are sometimes indicated as well, Boardman, *Plaques*, 57, 61, n. 83; Kurtz (supra n.1), 324. Cf. Athens NM 1452, *ARV* 233.2, however a head is laid flat in a prothesis scene on an early plaque, New York 14.146.3, *BMMA* 1, 1942-1943, 80f., figs. 4-6.

Apart from the Stockholm lekythos, there is only one surviving example of an Attic vase with opposite orientation, Victoria National Gallery D23/1982, K. Sheedy, 'A prothesis scene from the Analatos Painter', *AM* 105, 1990, 117-151. Other examples are on a Tanagra larnax from Tomb 63, Vermeule, *Death*, 64, fig. 20; an Apulian volute krater, Naples H3255 (81394), A.D. Trendall & A. Cambitoglou, *The red-figured vases of Apulia* (Oxford monographs on classical archaeology, 9), Oxford 1982, cat. 18/42 and a wall-painting from a tomb at Paestum, Kurtz & Boardman, *Thanatos*, 371, fig. 151b.

[15] Boardman, *Plaques*, 59, no. 5.

[16] H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen. Studien zur Formgeschichte altorientalischer und griechischer Sitz- und Liegemöbel vorhellenistischer Zeit* (JdI-EH, 24), Berlin 1969, 116f., 124f. (type A), 162f. (type B).

[17] Boardman, *Plaques*, 58; Alexiou (supra n.1), 5f.; Vermeule, *Death*, 14; Garland, *Death*, 24; R. Just, *Women in Athenian life and law*, London 1989, 110f., 156.

[18] Ker. inv. 2523, E. Karydi, 'Schwarzfigurige Lutrophoren im Kerameikos', *AM* 78, 1963, 102, fig. 52,1.

[19] Louvre MNB 905, Boardman, *Plaques*, 62, no. 28, see also no. 29. Immerwahr (supra n. 4), 74, no. 436. Cf. [Demosthenes] 43, 62-63 *Pros Makartaton* quotes a decree which restricts the female attendants for the dead to certain specified relatives.

[20] New York 27.228, Vermeule, *Death*, 14, fig. 8a. In contrast to black-figure representations of the prothesis, there is only one white lekythos which seems to show a child at the bier, Athens NM 1925 Cat. 7. This is explicable iconographically because the narrow field offered by the cylinder body of the lekythos required that the three figures in the scene had to have a full visual impact. Hence the concentration on a strong vertical compostion rather than the awkward horizontal of the deceased's laid out body.

[21] Kerameikos, Lullies (supra n. 8), pls. 14, 15.

[22] Louvre CA 453, *ARV* 184.22, 1632, *ABV* 405.4, *Para.* 340, *Add.* 187.

[23] Berlin 31.008, Zschietzschmann (supra n. 4), Beil. 17; cf. also K. Athusaki, 'Drei weissgrundige Lekythen', *AM* 85, 1970, pl. 20,3; Athens NM 17420, *ARV* 519.2, K. Zimmermann, 'Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf griechischen Vasenbildern', *JdI* 95, 1980, 193, fig. 29.

[24] Zimmermann (supra n. 23), 192-194 discusses the appearance of Thracian women on vases, citing Athens NM 1170, *ARV* 512.13, 1657, *Para.* 382, *Add.* 252 and Athens NM 17420, as well as Munich, *ARV* 1102.1, *Para.* 451, *Add.* 329. The exceptional white lekythos by the Phiale Painter, Athens NM 19355, *ARV* 1022.139*bis*, *Para.* 441, *Add.* 316, depicts a mourning Thracian woman kneeling beside the *tymbos* of a young man, J. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Kerameus, 8), Mainz 1990, pl. 111.

[25] Kurtz, *AWL*, 34.

[26] For the fingers gripping the edge of the himation, cf. the deceased woman on the Phiale or Achilles Painter's Athens NM 1940, *ARV*, 1004.41, 1026.1, *Add.* 313, Oakley (supra n. 24), cat. B1, pl. 145a.

[27] Athens, Acropolis 6473, I. Wehgartner, *Ein Grabbild des Achilleusmalers* (129. Winckelmannsprogram), Berlin 1985, 29, figs. 23-24. Athens, Kanellopoulos 725, ibid., 31, n. 112. A later example, with a youth instead of the older man on the two previous lekythoi, is Oxford G.254 by the Bird Painter, *ARV* 1234.21, *Add.* 352, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 39,4.

Berlin 1983.1, the subject of Wehgartner's excellent monograph, depicts the older man motif, but with the face clearly visible although the hand is raised as if to cover it. On the vase, see now *CVA Berlin* 8, pls. 11,2-3, 12,13-14 (=Deutschland 62, pls. 3052-55), M. Kunze *et al.*, *Die Antikensammlung im Pergamonmuseum und in Charlottenburg*, Mainz 1992, cat. no.150.

The fragment of a red-figure loutrophoros, Athens NM 17336 by the Kleophon Painter, *ARV* 1146.49, *CVA Athènes* 2, III I d, pls. 24,1-2, 26,2 (=Grèce 2, pls. 82, 84) shows an intermediate position, where the himation covers part of the face. Cf. Dyfri Williams, 'Close shaves', in *Amsterdam Symposium*, 275-281 discusses the use of shaven heads in the context of ritual lament, but the gesture of the mourning men is the same as the last example.

The white lekythos Cambridge, Fitzwillam GR 36.1937,

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CVA Cambridge 2, Ricketts & Shannon, III J, pl. 15,3 (=Great Britain 11, pl. 524) shows the face covered with the himation rather than the hand.

[28] The gesture of the hand held with palm outwards is rare on white lekythoi. A small number of secondary lekythoi from the Tymbos Workshop show the motif, but on standard lekythoi, the unpublished Munich inv. 8399 seems to be a lone example. P.J. Rahn, 'Funeral memorials of the first priestess of Athena Nike', *BSA* 81, 1986, 198, n. 17, considers this a heroising gesture.

[29] For representations of *psychai/eidola*, see now E. Peifer, *Eidola und andere mit dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei in spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Europäische Hochschulschriften vol. 28, Series 38), Frankfurt am Main 1989, 235-247.

To the list of *psychai* in grave-side scenes on white lekythoi, given in Peifer's catalogue K77-K104, add:

1. Cambridge, Fitzwillam GR 36.1937 (supra n. 27) [Achilles Painter's Workshop originally, J.C. Burns].
2. Brussels A1168, *ARV* 1373.4, Fairbanks 2, pl. 10,1.
3. Munich inv. 2783, *ARV* 1373.11.
4. Amsterdam, APM inv. 627, *ARV* 1373.13, *Add.* 370, *AP Museum, Gods and men*, pl. 53.
5. Athens, NM 1900, *ARV* 1373.15.
6. Athens, Ker. inv. 4158, *AM* 91 (1976), pl. 34,3-4 [Manner Woman Painter, F. Felten].
7. Prague, Umeleckoprumyslove Museum, J. Frel, *Recke Vazy*, Prague 1956, fig. 58.
8. Dresden ZV 1410.
9. Erlangen, Univ. inv. 265 [Manner Woman Painter, J.C. Burns].
10. Louvre MNB 623 [late Reed Painter, J.C. Burns].

(Note that in Peifer's catalogue, K83 is Harvard 1898.3, K84 is Boston 86.156, K85 is Boston 93.64).

To Peifer's list of Thanatos & Hypnos scenes with *psychai* on white lekythoi add:

1. Athens, NM 16421, *ARV* 1237.13, DAI negs. AV 822-824, see also E. Buschor, *MM* 10, 1969, 165.
2. Athens, private, Fairbanks ix.1, 22.

Thanatos & Hermes: London, BM 1928.2-13.3, *ARV* 1240.64.

H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek art. The representation of abstract concepts 600-400 BC* (Crescens, 1), Zurich 1993, 142-146, 164 makes some useful comments on the appearance of these mythological characters on white lekythoi.

[30] The same expression of grief is to be found on the Penthesilea Painter's huge cup Ferrara T.18C VP, *ARV* 882.35, 1673, *Para.* 428, *Add.* 301.

[31] Catalogue nos. 2, 5, 11.

[32] Catalogue nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10.

[33] Cf. the grave stele Athens, NM 4496,*AM* 96,1981, pl. 62,1.

[34] For the fanning of the corpse: Benndorf, on pl. 38; Boardman, *Plaques*, 58; Ahlberg, *Prothesis* (supra n. 2), 302; Kurtz, *AWL*, 219 on pl. 44,2; Garland, *Death*, 139 sees a more ritualistic purpose in the holding of branches like fans on Attic Geometric vases.

[35] The gesture is between a pensive one as on the Group R fragment, Athens, NM 17276, *ARV* 1384.16, *Para.* 486, *Add.* 372, G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1965, 112f., where only the fingers touch the chin, and one of worry for which cf. in sculpture, the old seer, E. Pediment Figure N at Olympia, Temple of Zeus; ibid., 130, n. 509. Also, Athens, NM 4496 (supra n. 33).

[36] It is interesting that female prothesis scenes on white lekythoi depict appropriate objects in the field, which may be thought of as attributes of a good woman. They may also be place indicators, reminiscent of the wreaths hanging in the field in black-figure prothesis scenes. This is in contrast with the male protheseis which show no masculine attributes in the field. Objects in graves themselves do not always seem to be exclusively appropriate for one sex, e.g. a mirror found in the same grave as a strigil, L. Congdon, *Caryatid mirrors of ancient Greece. Technical, stylistic and historical considerations of an archaic and early classical bronze series*, Mainz 1981, cat. no. 16; cf. D.C. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Greek burial practices*, London 1972, 207f.

[37] The dead were sometimes richly arrayed for their prothesis or in preparation for burial: Eur. *Alkestis* 161, Kurtz, *AWL*, 219. However, there is little evidence that they were actually buried in their finery, Kurtz & Boardman (supra n. 36), 207; Garland, *Death*, 25.

[38] The peplos is referred to as the clothing or covering for the dead on a number of occasions: Eur. *Hekuba* 578, 735, *Elektra* 1227f., *Her. Fur.* 329, 702, *Troades* 1143f. Cf. the prothesis in a peplos on the black-figure fragments, Basle, Cahn (supra n.12), cat. no. 130 fr.b, cat. no. 131 fr.a.; Ker. inv. 2523, Karydi (supra n. 18), pl. 52,1.

The black peplos is infrequent in the funerary scenes on white lekythoi. Some fragments of a fine white lekythos attributed to the Thanatos Painter [F. Felten], depict a heavily mourning woman in a black peplos, Ker. inv. 4126, *AM* 91, 1976, pl. 29,1. With this may be compared the lekythos Bonn 68, *CVA Bonn* 1, pl. 45,1-2,4 (=Deutschland 1, pl. 45) [Spirit of Sabouroff Painter, A. Greifenhagen]. Cf. also the black peplos on lekythoi by the Quadrate Painter: Athens, NM 1760, *ARV* 1238.37, W. Riezler, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen*, Munich 1914, pl. 83; Woman Painter: Lyons E-257, *ARV* 1373.24. One of a number of newly excavated lekythoi from a grave in Vergina, *Ergon* 36, 1989, 73, some of which are said to be by the Woman Painter, depicts a woman in a black peplos beside an acanthus topped stele. The attribution of the particular lekythos may be narrowed down to the Revelstoke Group (two other vases identified by Beazley as quite likely to be by the Woman Painter), *ARV* 1371, 1374. For the Reed Painter and other examples of the black peplos, see J.C. Burns, 'Youth and woman at tomb: the Reed Painter's lekythos in Bratislava', *Zbornik Slovenskeho Narodneho Muzea* 87, 1993, 105.

[39] This is because the woman faces left. No person faces left unless they are at the head of the bier, on white lekythoi, unlike other media: Boardman (supra n.4), no. 23; Berlin inv. 3334,

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Zschietzschmann (supra n. 4), Beil. 14, 86; Munich, once Lugano, Schoen (supra n. 24).

[40] The word *ependytes* does not have as specific a meaning as modern usage suggests. Soph. fr. 439 (Pearson) and Pollux 7,45 may be read as a general word representing clothing or robe. See H. Thiersch, *Ependytes and Ephod* (Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschungen, 8), Stuttgart 1936, 35f.; M. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Etruscan costume*, London 1947, 55 and fig. 55.

Other white lekythos painters depict the same dress occasionally: Quadrate Painter, Painter of New York 23.160.41, Houston Painter, cf. Athens, NM 17335. Oakley (supra n. 24), 14 comments that the Phiale Painter also uses the garment rarely.

[41] The assumption is that the wearing of the *stephane* is an exclusively female attribute. Cat. 31 would thus be female. A wreath is a common adornment, although rarely depicted on white lekythoi, Triglyph Painter's lekythos Cat. 26. Alexiou (supra n. 1), 5 and n. 13 for the ancient sources; M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 38), Berlin 1982, 89-91; Garland, *Death*, 26.

[42] Decorated shrouds: (black-figure) Kerameios HTR 22.138 (supra, n. 7); Paris, Cab.Med. 353, *ABV* 346.7, *Add.* 94; New York 54.11.15, *BSA* 50, 1955, pl. 4; Basle, Cahn (supra n.12), cat. no. 131; Amsterdam APM 6243. (Red-figure) Cleveland 27.145, *CVA Cleveland* 1, pls. 15-16 (=U.S.A. 15, pls. 695, 696); Louvain-la-Neuve, *ARV* 700.85; Louvre CA 453 (supra n. 22).

[43] A *stroma* is sometimes raised over the head of the kline in scenes in other techniques: Louvre MNB 905 (supra n.19); New York 27.228, Vermeule, *Death*, 14, fig. 8a; Louvre CA 453 (supra n.22); Boardman, *Plaques*, pl. 8,34.

[44] Kyrieleis (supra n. 16), 119, fig. 22c for an old form of kline which is similar. The prothesis scene on the Leiden lekythos Cat. 22 is badly worn but both it and the Budapest version Cat. 21 show comparable leg types. Cf. fragmentary marble relief, Göttingen University Hu 258, which depicts a naked boy leaning forlornly against the leg of a kline. Judging by the atmosphere of heavy sorrow, it may be conjectured that the fragment is from a rare representation of the prothesis in relief.

[45] In the case of Cat. 28 I find no trace of a figure in the position suggested by the *CVA*. It is difficult to see how another figure could have been squeezed between the stele and the bier.

[46] Boardman, *Plaques*, 55f. on the role of columns in these scenes.

[47] *ARV* 1385.16.

[48] Athens, Acropolis, *AE* 1958, pl. 10,22 (grave 65).

[49] Athens, Acropolis, *ARV* 1387.2, 1692, *AE* 1958, pls. 13,1 & 14,1.

[50] Berlin 2682, *ARV* 1385.13, *Add.* 372, U. Gehrig *et al.*, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung: Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin 1968, pl. 91.

[51] Cf. Zurich, Univ. 2518, *ARV* 1386.38, *Add.* 372, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 51,3; Berlin 2680, *ARV* 1385.1, *AZ* 1885, pl. 13; Athens, NM 1796, *ARV* 1385.7; London market, Christie, Sale Catalogue 11.7.84, no. 212. On a slightly earlier lekythos by the Painter of Berlin 2464, Louvre MNB 618, *ARV* 1244.3, Add. 353, the same feature occurs. The Painter is stylistically between the Woman Painter and the Reed Painter, both in tomb typology and figure types, cf. Berlin 2463, *ARV* 1244(a) and Kerameikos, from grave hS 180.

[52] For the water-bird: Karlsruhe B2689, *ARV* 1386.20, *Add.* 372; Louvre MNB 440, *ARV* 1386.21; Amiens 3057.166.27, *ARV* 1386.22; Laon 37.948, *ARV* 1387.42; Warsaw, NM 198069, *ARV* 1387.(50), *Para.* 487, *CVA Varsovie* 2 , pls. 50,1-3, 51,1-2, 53,3 (=Poland 5, pls. 227–228, 230). The terracotta water-bird, Ker. T.563 from Eckterasse 1981, may be from a grave.

[53] London, BM D51, *ARV* 1000.201, 1677, *Add.* 313. There is another interesting example which I consider likely to be from the Achilles Painter's workshop, Lund, Univ. inv. 261, A.W. Persson, *BLund* 1921-1922, 27, fig. 4. Approximately contemporary is Athens NM 2020, *ARV* 854.2, Benndorf, pl. 16,2, which shows a mourning youth at a grave stele, holding a water-bird on his arm. Athens, NM 1995, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 38,4, which cannot be far from the Painter of Munich 2335, shows that the differentiation between funerary and so-called domestic scenes on white lekythoi is far from clear. The water-bird in this example stands between a woman holding a basket and another rasing her hand to her head in a mourning gesture.

[54] Athens, NM 1908, *ARV* 1385.19, *AE* 1906, 16; Zurich, Univ. 2518 (supra n. 51).

[55] B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den Marmorlekythen*, Berlin 1970, 23f.; G. Kokula, *Marmorlutrophoren* (AM-BH 10), Berlin 1984, 15f.; Kurtz, *AWL*, 70, 74.

[56] As is shown below in the text, there is a tendency to illustrate a vase shape in use on the vases themselves, frequently loutrophoroi. E.g. Karlsruhe inv. 69/78, J. Thimme, *Griechische Vasen*, Karlsruhe 1975, figs. 58-59; Karlsruhe inv. 206, *ARV* 735.111, 1668, *Add.* 283, ibid., fig. 51; Berne inv. 12227, *ARV* 596.1, K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basle 1960, fig. 224.

[57] Two graves in Athens and one in Demir Kapija in Macedonia illustrate this practice. C.G. Boulter, 'Graves in Lenormant street, Athens', *Hesperia* 32, 1963, 120f. grave D, and AE 1958, 99f. grave 86 for the Lenormant Street and Syntagma Square cemeteries. *Starinar* 10, 1959, 281f. and *Starinar* 12, 1961, 245 for the Demir Kapija grave. *Fig. 8.*

[58] For this series of stamnoi by the Villa Giulia Painter and others, see especially F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masque. Une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes* (Images à l'appui, 4), Paris and Rome 1991, 67-100 and catalogue.

[59] Munich SS74, *ARV* 624.86, *Para.* 398 and Munich SS75, *ARV* 624.87, *Para.* 398, R. Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst*, Munich 1955, cat. nos. 74, 75.

[60] Palermo, MN 2185 (2564), *ARV* 1021.115 and London, BM E596, *ARV* 1021.116, Oakley (supra n. 24), cat. nos. 115 and 116.

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[61] Sheedy (supra n. 14).

[62] New York, MMA 31.11.13, *ARV* 1248.9, 1688, *Para.* 469, *Add.* 353; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler. Werke und Weggefährten* (Kerameus, 6), Mainz 1988, cat. no. 239; P. Hellström, 'Achilles in retirement', *MedMusB* 25, 1990, 26, fig. 7.

A more conventional prothesis scene, nevertheless set in a mythological context, is that on a Corinthian hydria of about 570, depicting the mourning for Achilles by the Nereids: Paris, Louvre E643, K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der früh- und hocharchaischen Kunst* (Geschichte der griechischen Sagenbilder, 1), Munich 1994, 327, fig. 366. Here, the emphasis is laid more upon the famous armour of Achilles and his other equipment than on the corpse itself.

ADDENDUM

The white lekythos Peiraeus, OM40 [H. 375, D. 107] is now published as another prothesis scene by O. Tzachou-Alexandri, 'Athenaike lefke lekithos apo ton archaio Oropo', in *Filia epe. Festschrift George E. Mylonas* 3, Athens 1989, 83–107, pls. 17–19, 20a. Attributed by the author to the Painter of the New York Hypnos. The most important element of this scene is the unprecedented depiction of the man at the foot of the bier laying a sash across the corpse.

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A Collection of Votive Terracottas from Tessennano (Vulci)

Suzanne Unge Sörling

In 1958 the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities acquired part of an Etruscan deposit of votive terracottas from Tessennano in the Vulci region. The acquisition was effected by the intermediation of the Swedish Institute in Rome and thanks to a grant from King Gustaf VI Adolf, who had in 1956 already given to the Museum two objects from the same collection (MM 1956:326 a–b).[1] The material consists of nearly all the parts of the human body, especially heads, parts of statues and anatomical votives such as feet, hands, breasts, genitals and internal organs; it also includes animal figurines and lamps. It shows the same variation as many other similar finds of votive deposits from mainly the Etrusco-Latial culture of the first two centuries B.C.[2]

The collection in Stockholm is today reckoned as a valuable part of the permanent Graeco-Roman exhibition at the Museum (*Fig. 1*).[3] It has not yet been formally published, although it has been the subject of some academic studies by Swedes since the middle of the 1980s.[4] It is now time to make the material accessible to other scholars, who in recent years, especially in Italy, have systematically published finds of votive deposits from old excavations all over Italy.[5] While we are awaiting a full publication and study of the Swedish material,[6] the present article will serve as a preliminary introduction. It also puts forward some general comments particularly on the anatomical votives, which make up about two-thirds of the whole material.

The votive terracottas derive from a large deposit excavated in 1956 at Tessennano near Canino in the Vulci region under the supervision of the Soprintendenza dell'Etruria Meridionale (*Fig. 2*).[7] During his tours in Etruria in the 1840s, Tessennano was visited by George Dennis, who remarks that it is a village that betrays no antiquity higher than Roman times.[8] The archaeological site itself was first referred to as early as 1881, when blocks of tufa from an ancient building came to light on land belonging to the same proprietor as at the time of the excavation.[9] Attention was drawn to an architrave with a Latin inscription, presumed to belong to a small sanctuary dedicated to Mars.

The known circumstances of the excavation in 1956 and the information about it are very scanty, as it was a hasty recovery made within the broader excavation campaign in Vulci that year.[10] Valuable information is given in a report[11] written a year after the excavation, as the result of an inspection made on account of damage done on the site by ploughing about a metre deep. Within the area where the *stipa* was found, there were ruins of walls still left. Seven different zones were identified, which all had traces of architectural elements, such as tufa and travertine blocks, lying in close connection with the site of the *stipa*. During this investigation a fragment with a Latin funerary inscription came to light.[12] Although there is no information about the measurements of the whole area, the following conclusion is stated in the report: "... si crede di poter dedurre la presenza nel terreno esplorato di un grosso pagus dipendente da Vulci, la cui continuità di vita è attestata attraverso almeno quattro secoli dai materiali estratti dalla stipa votiva e la cui esistenza è strettamente dipendente dalla presenza del luogo di culto attestata dalla stipe stessa."

As the land was partly in private hands, a part of the votive terracottas was assigned in 1957, in accordance with the Italian law, to the landowner.[13] When his part was offered for sale, it passed to Sweden.[14]

Regarding the whole deposit, it is, however, not quite clear what the total number of votives was, nor how exactly the material was divided between the landowner and the Italian authorities. There exists in the Italian archives a list of 569 terracottas and 14 bronzes, classified and numbered in various groups.[15] This list of objects shows just some slight divergences from the sum

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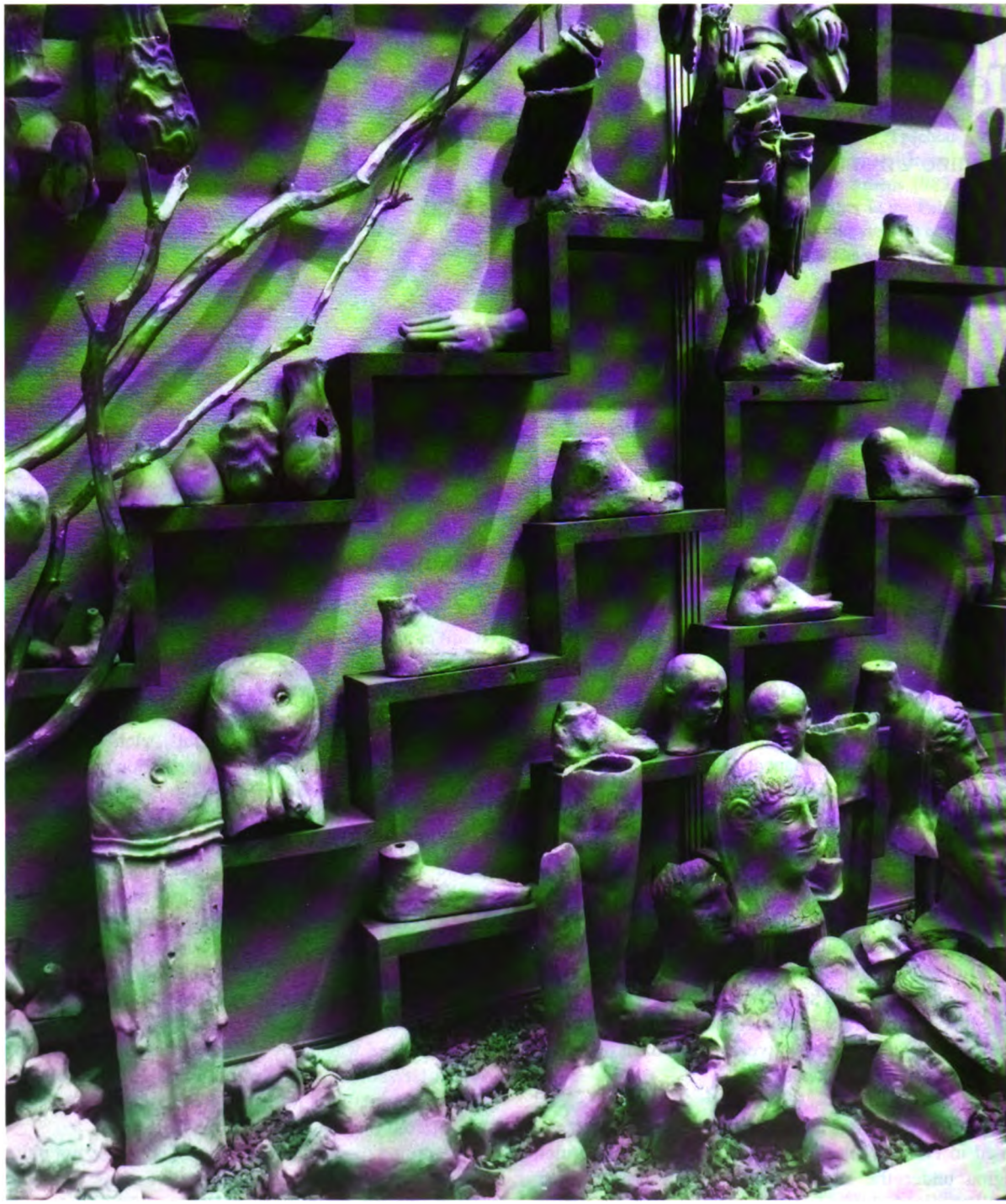

Fig. 1. View of the showcase in Medelhavsmuseet containing the Tessennano terracottas.

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total of the objects kept today in Sweden and Italy.[16] In total, it seems as if the Tessennano deposit contained approximately some 600–650 pieces of votive terracottas, including fragments. The Swedish-Italian division of the various groups of terracottas seems fairly even. Below follows a list of the Swedish material, indicating the quantity of items in each category, as well as the inventory numbers. The corresponding Italian quantities are placed in parentheses.[17]

5	(4)	Male half-heads, MM 1958:2, MM 1958:16-19
65	(40)	Male heads, MM 1958:20-84
11	(7)	Boys' heads, MM 1958:85-95
25	(20)	Female heads, MM 1958:96-120
2	(6)	Masks, MM 1958:121-122
14	(18)	Parts of statues, MM 1958:123-136
11	(10)	Female breasts, MM 1958:137-147
4	(6)	Limbs, MM 1958:157-160
45	(35)	Feet, MM 1958:161-205
10	(12)	Hands, MM 1956:326a, MM 1958:148-156
85	(63)	Male genitals, 1958:206-290
13	(18)	Uteri, 1958:291-303
3	(2)	Female genitals, 1958:304-306
1	(11)	Polyvisceral terracotta, MM 1958:307
14	(25)	Animal statuettes, MM 1956:326b, MM 1958:308-320
3		Lamps, MM 1958:321-323
1		Unidentified object, MM 1958:324

In the Italian material there are also weights (5), pieces of pottery including lamps (15), ears (2), statuettes (5) and bronzes (12).

The numbers make it clear that the share assigned to the landowner, which is now in the possession of the Medelhavsmuseet, was around 50 per cent of the entire material.

When the Tessennano deposit was discovered, great attention was paid to it because of the various and extraordinarily interesting pieces of internal intestines. Among these are several examples of so-called polyviscerals, that is, plaques showing several organs together. The polyviscerals have been discussed in several veterinary and medical publications[18] and views have been expressed about the difficulties—possibly experienced by the ancients—in interpreting the internal anatomy of humans, as compared with that of animals. Only one object in the Swedish material can be classified as a polyvisceral terracotta object, MM 1958:307 (*Fig. 3*). It shows part of the chest with the lungs and a round bowl,

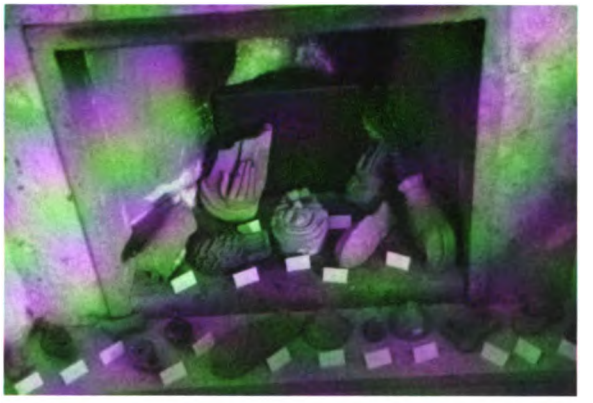

Fig. 2. Terracottas from Tessennano displayed in private surroundings (G. Sarchioni, Viterbo). Most of the items seen in the pictures can be identified in the Swedish part of the material. Photo courtesy of the Bernadotte Library (Royal Palace), Stockholm.

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Fig. 3. Polyvisceral terracotta.

which may be the heart.[19]

Thirteen uteri should also be included in the category of internal organs. They can be classified in two main groups, showing distinctly different features.[20] The uteri of the first group, MM 1958:291–297 (*Fig. 4*), some of which may be from the same mould, have a pronounced ridge and a long neck terminating in a triangular orifice. The uteri of the second group, MM 1958: 298–303 (*Fig. 5*), vary in length and have a less pronounced ridge in the middle, with a series of wavy, horizontal ridges probably representing the muscles.[21] Along one side, there is a more or less pronounced attachment, often interpreted as either an ovary or the vesical or a tumour.[22] If the interpretation as an ovary is correct, one needs to explain why there is only one ovary, if this is the uterus of a woman.[23]

In the context of internal organs, one may also mention the small, so far unidentified object MM 1958:324. It has a conical, hollowed shape with two small protuberances. It is probably intended to be a heart, having close parallels in the votive material from Gravisca and l'Ara della Regina.[24]

In the material there are three votive terracottas representing the female genitals, MM 1958:304–306 (*Fig. 6*). These are different from most other known female organs,[25] as they show the labia, clitoris (in the centre) and a hole, probably the vagina, surrounded by glands which may indicate some pathological condition. Another strange detail can be observed to the left on all the

Figs. 4–5. Two varieties of uterus.

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Fig. 6. Female genitals.

pieces, as if the potter has left his stamp in the clay. In the material from other terracotta deposits, the female genitals are simply often shown with a vertical slit[26] or a more natural way of depicting the sexual organ.[27]

The many specimens of male genitals, MM 1958:206–290, *c.* 25% of the whole material from Tessennano, represent mainly two types, those with distinct signs of hair on the pubes and those without. The testicles are more or less pronounced and the penes vary in appearance and size, being sometimes bloated (*Fig. 7*).[28] Of the 85 male genitals in the Swedish material, only a few can be regarded as puerile.

No more than eleven female breasts are included in the material. They do not show any anomaly in comparison with normal breasts and all are modelled life-size.

Among the ten votives representing hands, MM 1956:326a and MM 1958:148–156, there may be some significance in the fact that one specimen, MM 1958:148 (*Fig. 8*), is noticeably different from the others. The clay is painted red and the fingers are sturdy, with broad, pronounced fingertips, a characteristic sign of someone suffering from a heart disease.

After the male genitals, the terracotta feet come next (MM 1958:161–205). They are modelled life-size and represent equally the left and the right feet with realistic details; sometimes they rest on an elaborate support (*Fig. 9*). The pieces often terminate in a butt-end at the ankle but sometimes form the end part of a limb (MM 1958:157–160).

Judging by the material kept in Sweden, the composition of the votive terracottas from Tessennano is in accordance with many other Etruscan, Latial and Campanian votive deposits. All categories are represented. Most frequent are the heads (male, female and boys' heads counted together). They are closely followed by the male genitals. Next come the feet. The two latter groups belong to the anatomical terracottas, which are always represented in the votive material from this region.[29]

Most of the anatomical votives show no obvious sign of malady or pathological difference, and one must be cautious in connecting them with a specific diagnosis. Nevertheless, the number of different votives may give some idea of the principal ailments and the medical knowledge of the suppliants at different sites, as has been discussed in connection with the great number of votive terracottas found in the healing sanctuary of Ponte di Nona.[30] One explanation of the presence of the

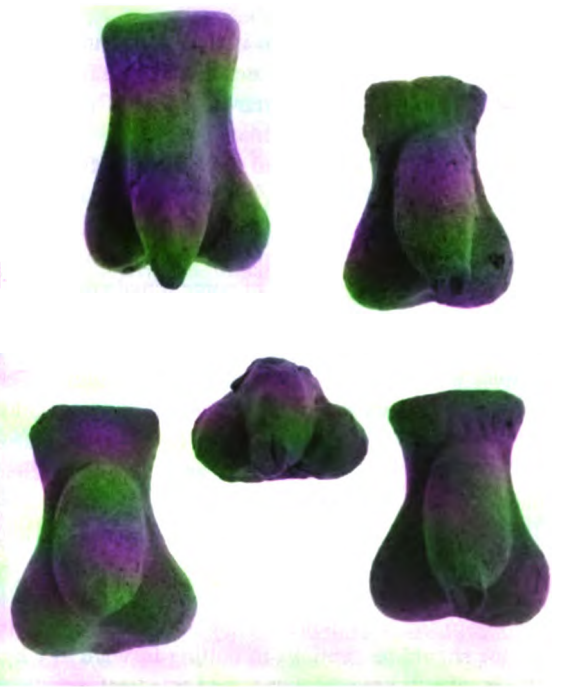

Fig. 7. Male genitals.

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Figs. 8–9. Hand and foot.

many feet votives at this site is that the shrine served mainly a rural population exposed to different injuries to the feet.[31] This may have been true also of the corresponding material from Tessenanno.

Together with the uteri and the female genitals, the male genitals obviously have some significance and character associated with fertility and reproduction. To the same sphere belong sculptures representing infants in arms, under the protection of some female divinity.[32] Among the sculptures in the Tessennano material, no swaddled babies are represented, such as one finds, for example, in the deposit at Porta Nord in Vulci.[33] The other group of anatomical votives, such as feet, limbs, hands, eyes, ears and internal organs, have more features associated with illness and health and therefore reflect some practising of a healing cult on the site. The material from the Tessennano deposit seems to be large and differentiated enough to point to both these cultic aspects, health and fertility.[34]

Owing to the uncertainty of the archaeological context, one should be cautious in putting forward any hypothesis about precise cultic and medical practices linked to the Tessennano votives or about the identity of the deity to which they were dedicated. In terms of numbers, one may, however, point out that there is a predominance of male votives; twice as many male heads, a predominant number of male genitals and mainly male feet. In the deposit there were also six male genitals made of bronze. This strengthens the impression of the predominantly male character of the votives and again points to cultic functions connected with fertility. Among the bronzes is also a statuette of Apollo, which has led to the conclusion that Apollo, in his capacity as the protector of puberty, may have had some importance in connection with the Tessennano deposit.[35] The fact that there are also heads of young boys veiled and sculptures of youths draped in the toga emphasizes the fact that there was a cult favourable to young persons of male sex.[36]

The other aspect, the medical and healing treatment, is embodied in the internal organs and chiefly in the polyviscerals. Although the votive terracottas from Canino and Piasano[37] in the nearby region of Tessennano have never been published, they are known to include several anatomical votives. Not least interesting is the whole statue of a young boy from Canino,[38] showing the chest

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and abdomen open with the intestines fully visible. Connected with Canino is also a notice of a find of a statue with a dedication to Apollo Sanctus.[39] This indicates strongly that in this specific region near to Vulci there were several sanctuaries connected with cults where a healing therapy was practised by the local population.

Once the whole terracotta material from the Tessenanno deposit is completely catalogued, it will bring out closer parallels with other comparative material, especially from Vulci. Also, a further study of the iconography of single items and a stylistic analysis of both heads and sculpture will help to date the material and indicate for how long a period the *stipa* was used. Valuable information on this point is also to be expected from the coins, a number of which was stated to have been found together with the votive terracottas.[40]

Suzanne Unge Sörling
Medelhavsmuseet

[1]In the contract of sale the cost of the material was 450,000 lire. The whole collection arrived in Stockholm by ship in July 1958.

[2]References to the Tessennano material will be found in *Etruscan culture. Land and people*, Malmö 1962, fig. 132; M. Fenelli, 'Contributo per lo studio del votivo anatomico: i votivi anatomici di Lavinio', *ArchCl* 27: 2, 1975, 242 f.; S. Steingräber, 'Zum Phänomen der Etruskisch-italischen Votivköpfe', *RM* 87, 1980, 219; A. Comella, 'Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana', *MEFRA* 93, 1981–82, 726 f.; A.M. Sgubini Moretti, D. Gallavotti & M. Aiello, *Vulci e il suo territorio* (Le guide territoriali dell'Etruria meridionale), Rome 1993, 66f.; J. MacIntosh Turfa, 'Anatomical votives and Italian medical traditions', in *Murlo and the Etruscans. Art and society in ancient Etruria*, eds. R.D. Puma & J.P. Small, Wisconsin 1994, 225f., 232.

[3]See the catalogue of the Museum, *Medelhavsmuseet—en introduktion*, Stockholm 1983, 212 (E. Rystedt).

[4]Thirteen uteri have been identified and interpreted from a medical point of view in an undergraduate paper by Dr. E. Landelius (presented to the Department of Ancient Culture and Society, University of Stockholm in 1987). They are also discussed by the same author in *Nordisk Medicinhistorisk Årsbok*, Stockholm 1993, 25–35. Some 12 fragments of terracotta statues have been discussed in an undergraduate paper by M. Nurkkala (Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University 1990).

[5]For some recent publications see the convenient overview by B. Ginge, 'Votive deposits in Italy: new perspectives on old finds', *JRA* 6, 1993, 285-288.

[6]A stylistic analysis of the votive heads as well as various studies of technical aspects of the terracottas and of their relations with other, comparative, Italian material are under preparation by Martin Söderlind (doctoral thesis to be presented to the Department of Ancient Culture and Society at the University of Lund). Söderlind's work will form the basis of a catalogue of the whole material to appear in a forthcoming volume of *MedMusM*.

[7]The site is referred to in the literature as I Roggi di Tessennano (A. Somella Mura, *Repertorio degli scavi e delle scoperte archeologiche nell'Etruria Meridionale* I, (1939–65), Rome 1969, 67 (wrongly noted as an excavation from 1957); B. André, *AA* 72, 1957, 311). The precise locality is called Felcetone in the document cited in n. 11 below.

In the archives of Medelhavsmuseet the toponym for the collection is Capoccette (so also in the museum catalogue, supra n. 3). Closely related is Le Capoccie given in *Etruscan culture. Land and people* (supra n. 2).

[8]G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cementeries of Etruria*, vol. 1, London 1848, 462.

[9]*BdI* 12, 1881, 257. The name of the landowner at the time was Filippo De Parri. This reference has kindly been given to me by Martin Söderlind, of Lund University.

[10]S. Paglieri, 'Una stipe votiva vulcente', *RivIstArch* 9, 1960, 74-96; R. Bartoccini, 'Scoperte recenti negli scavi di Vulci', *StRom* 6, 1958, 125–129; R. Bartoccini, 'Tre anni di scavi a Vulci', in *Atti del VII Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica*, Rome 1961, 257–281.

[11]The report is signed by S. Paglieri; see *Archivio della Soprintendenza archaeologica per l'Etruria meridionale* (*Arch. SAEM.*), prot. no. 3336 (35 Vulci), 6/9/57.

[12]Further study might show whether there is any relation between this inscription, which on the fourth line has the Latin word COLLEGI, and the above-mentioned architrave found in 1881 with the fragmentary Latin letters reading COL on the second line. The quality of the stone seems to be the same in the two cases. (I thank Prof. Bengt Thomasson, of Gothenburg, for giving me his views on the epigraphical matter.)

[13]Dr. Giovanni Battista De Parri, of Canino, was assigned 315 objects, according to an agreement signed by Prof. R. Bartoccini, Dr. M. Moretti and Prof. R. Raffaele on the 20th of November 1957 (*Arch. SAEM.*, prot. no. 602 (37 Vulci), 18/2/58).

[14]When the material was for sale, it was shown to the King of Sweden at Canino in the company of Prof. E. Gjerstad and Prof. A. Boethius, by Dr. G. Sarchioni, who was much involved in the excavation project. The visit to Canino was probably arranged during the early autumn, when the King took part in the Swedish excavations at San Giovenale.

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[15]"Elenco sommario del materiale scavato a Tessennano nella stipa votiva in vocabulo "I roggi" " (supra, note 11). The register was signed by Prof. L. Gasperini, who, in correspondence with the Swedish Institute in Rome (28/2/79) pointed out that he acted as an intermediary in the transaction between the landowner and the Swedish Institute in Rome and that he was offered by Professor Boethius the opportunity to publish the material, since he had "important first-hand information of the excavation".

[16]The Italian part of the material is today kept in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Tuscania and the Museo Archeologico at Vulci, with the exception of some objects exhibited in the Villa Giulia in Rome (M. Moretti, *The National Museum of Villa Giulia*, Rome 1965, 50).

[17]This preliminary information was generously supplied by Dott.ssa Sara Costantini (letter sent from Tuscania 10/3/93). Dott.ssa Costantini is in charge of the Italian part of the material, to be published in a forthcoming volume of Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia.

[18]G. Sarchioni, 'L'ispezione dei visceri nella antichità, con riguardo all'aruspicina etrusca', *Veterinaria* 8/3/59, 141-143; M. Tabanelli, 'Conoscenze anatomiche ed "ex-voto" poliviscerali etrusco romani di Tessennano presso Vulci', *RivStMed* 2, 1960, 295–313; M. Tabanelli, *Gli ex-voto poliviscerali etruschi e romani* (Pocket library of "Studies" in art, 11), Florence 1962, 50-53; M. Tabanelli, *La medicina nel mondo degli etruschi* (Biblioteca della "Rivista di storia della scienze mediche e naturali", 11), Florence 1963, 25–27. See also MacIntosh Turfa (supra n. 2).

[19]See Tabanelli 1962 (supra n. 18), who interprets similar polyviscerals as the anatomy of cattle, in one case also of a hen.

[20]Landelius (supra n. 4). – In details of anatomy relative to uteri and other organs, I would like to acknowledge the consultations that I have had with Dr. Erik Landelius.

[21]Similar uteri, but with larger variations, are found in the very rich material of uteri at Gravisca (A. Comella, *Il materiale votivo tardo di Gravisca* (Archaeologica, 6), Roma 1978, pls. 31-36) and Tarquinia (A. Comella, *Il deposito votivo presso l'Ara della Regina* (Archaeologica, 22 = Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, 4), Rome 1982, pls. 85-88).

[22]E. Holländer, *Plastik und Medizin*, Stuttgart 1912, 195f.; Tabanelli 1962 (supra n. 18), 74; P. Decouflé, *La notion d'ex-voto anatomique chez les Etrusco-Romains. Analyse et synthèse* (CollLatomus, 72), Brussels 1964, pl. 1.

[23]Dr. Landelius (supra n. 4) discusses the possibility of interpreting the uterus with an appendix at one side as modelled upon the bicorn uterus of a cow; in such a case the visible asymmetry may be explained by reference to the fact that one of the horns grows bigger soon after a delivery.

The association of the terracotta uteri with a non-human model is not in line with the theories put forward by MacIntosh Turfa (supra n. 2). She interprets the terracottas as representing anthropoid gravid uteri, more particularly such as would have been known as a result of (post-mortem) caesarian section. She thereby assumes obstetrical and gynaecological knowledge gained from practise to have existed in Central Italy at the time in question.

[24]Comella 1978 (supra n. 21), pls. 37–38; Comella 1982 (supra n. 21), pls. 89-91. Concerning the votive material from Veio, for example, similar cone-shaped objects are identified as "cipetti" (L. Vagnetti, *Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio (Materiale degli scavi 1937–1938)* (Studi e Materiali di etruscologia e antichità italiche, 9), Florence 1971, pl. 58; A. Comella & G. Stefani, *Materiali votivi del santuario di Campetti a Veio (scavi 1947 e 1969)* (Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia, 5), Rome 1990, 109–112.

[25]Among the polyviscerals of doubtful interpretation there may be examples meant to show the female genitals (see, for example, P. Pensabene *et alii*, 'Terracotte votive dal Tevere', *StMisc* 25, Rome 1980, pl. 98, no. 588.

[26]For example, votive terracottas from Veio, M. Torelli & I. Pohl, 'Scoperta di un piccolo santuario etrusco in Località Campetti', *NSc* 27, 1973, figs. 119–120.

[27]For one example see the material from Gravisca, Comella 1978 (supra n.21), pl. 36.

[28]Many scholars have interpreted the bloated state as a sign of phymosis. See Decouflé (supra n. 22), figs. 3-4 and Fenelli (supra n. 2), 217.

[29]Comella 1981 (supra n. 2), 759.

[30]T.W. Potter, 'A republican healing-sanctuary at Ponte di Nona near Rome and the classical tradition of votive medicine', *JBAA* 138, 1985. See also the appendix in the same volume by C. Wells, 'A medical interpretation of the votive terracottas'.

[31]Potter (supra n. 30), 41; also R. Jackson, *Doctors and diseases in the Roman Empire*, London 1988, 160.

[32]Comella 1981 (supra n. 2), 762.

[33]Cf. Paglieri (supra n. 10), 86–88.

[34]Although the votive terracottas from l'Ara della Regina are more numerous (nearly twice as many) than the terracottas from Tessennano, there seems to be some equality in the compositions of the different categories; see Comella 1982 (supra n. 21), 221-226.

[35]See *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci* (a cura di A. Carandini), Milan 1985, 74 (I Santuari e i culti: S. Costantini). The author points to the fact that there are several indications of a healing cult associated with Apollo on other Etruscan sites in the same region. Cf. also Moretti, Gallavotti & Aiello (supra n. 2).

[36]It has been discussed whether this has a connection with the ceremonies that took place when young boys were mature enough to receive the *toga virilis*. See Nurkkala (supra n. 4).

[37]Comella 1981 (supra n. 2), 726 and *NSc* 1884, 215.

[38]Tabanelli 1962 (supra n. 18), 35 and Decouflé (supra n. 22), pl. 15.

[39]L.R. Taylor, *Local cults in Etruria* (PAAR, 2), Rome 1923, 171.

[40]André (supra n.7); Tabanelli 1962 (supra n. 18).

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A Roman Bronze Head

Johan Flemberg

The bronze head to be presented here (MM 1979:10, *Figs. 1 a-g*) was acquired on the art market in 1979.[1] It is said to have been found in Asia Minor. It is mounted on a stone base and mended with a green synthetic material in three places, on the left[2] temple, below the left ear and on the front of the throat. The whole surface of the bronze is covered by a dark, green patina. The interior, including the lead parts (see below) is covered by a thin, reddish-brown layer of earth.[3] At the back of the head the same layer can be seen, especially in the hair but also on parts that were originally covered by bronze.[4]

The measurements are as follows: Total height: *c.* 21 cm. Parting of hair to chin: *c.* 13.6 cm. Parting of hair to level of the eyes: 4.9 cm. Parting of hair to tip of nose: 8.6 cm. Parting of hair to mouth: 9.8 cm. Level of the eyes to mouth: 4.9 cm. Level of the eyes to chin: *c.* 8.6 cm. Tip of nose to chin: *c.* 5 cm. Mouth to chin: *c.* 3.8 cm. Distance between inner corners of the eyes: 2.4 cm. Distance between outer corners of the eyes: 7.4 cm. Width of right eye: 2.7 cm. Width of left eye: 2.6 cm. Length of mouth: 3.1 cm. Distance between right corner of the mouth and right eye (outer corner): 5 cm. Ditto left side: 5.2 cm. Width of head in front of the ears: 11.1 cm.

The thickness of the metal was measured at four places: the left cheek: 2.5 mm; the forehead: 3 mm; behind the left ear: 3.5 mm; at the middle of the neck: 5.5 mm. At two places the metal had become so thin that little holes have resulted: on the left ear and in the hair on the right side.

Technical description

The crown and the back of the head is missing. The line of breakage seems accidental, i.e. not to follow any ancient join.[5] The neck is divided horizontally by a join, which is covered (except at the back of the neck and on a short stretch at the right side) by a row of rectangular patches of bronze, sunk into the surface. Below this join, on the left side of the neck, part of another, similar join is preserved (*Fig. 1 d*). In front of and below the ears, breaks have been mended with patches of bronze. On the left side the damage was greater and an area below the ear, close to the join in the neck, has been mended in recent times. Behind the left ear, one of the ancient patches is visible on the inside. In the middle of the forehead, a rectangular patch covers a hole, which is visible on the inner surface. This hole was probably made by one of the iron or bronze nails that held the core in place during casting. The three round depressions below seem to be the result of hammering, perhaps part of an intentional destruction that also affected the left eye. A few small cuts and scratches occur on the face. Below the chin there is a break that was not patched in the usual way.

The inside of the neck is lined with a layer of lead, which on the inside forms horizontal, parallel flanges (*Fig. 1 f*). The lead was part of the joining process (see below). Above this lining, on the left side, a square piece of lead is attached (*Fig. 1 f*); the fracture of its upper edge looks recent. Presumably this strip of lead has to do with the mending of the part below the left ear.

The ears are rather summarily executed. The same can be said about the mouth, which gives the face a somewhat sullen expression. The pupil of the right eye is rendered as a shallow, round depression, encircled by double lines.[6] The left eye is damaged, perhaps intentionally. The eyebrows are rendered by short, parallel, incised lines, arranged in a fishbone pattern. The eyelashes are indicated by little notches on the edges of the eyelids. The hair consists of carefully lined, yet rather summarily rendered locks, symmetrically arranged. To judge by the smoothness of the furrows, the hair strands were executed in the wax, not in the bronze after casting.[7]

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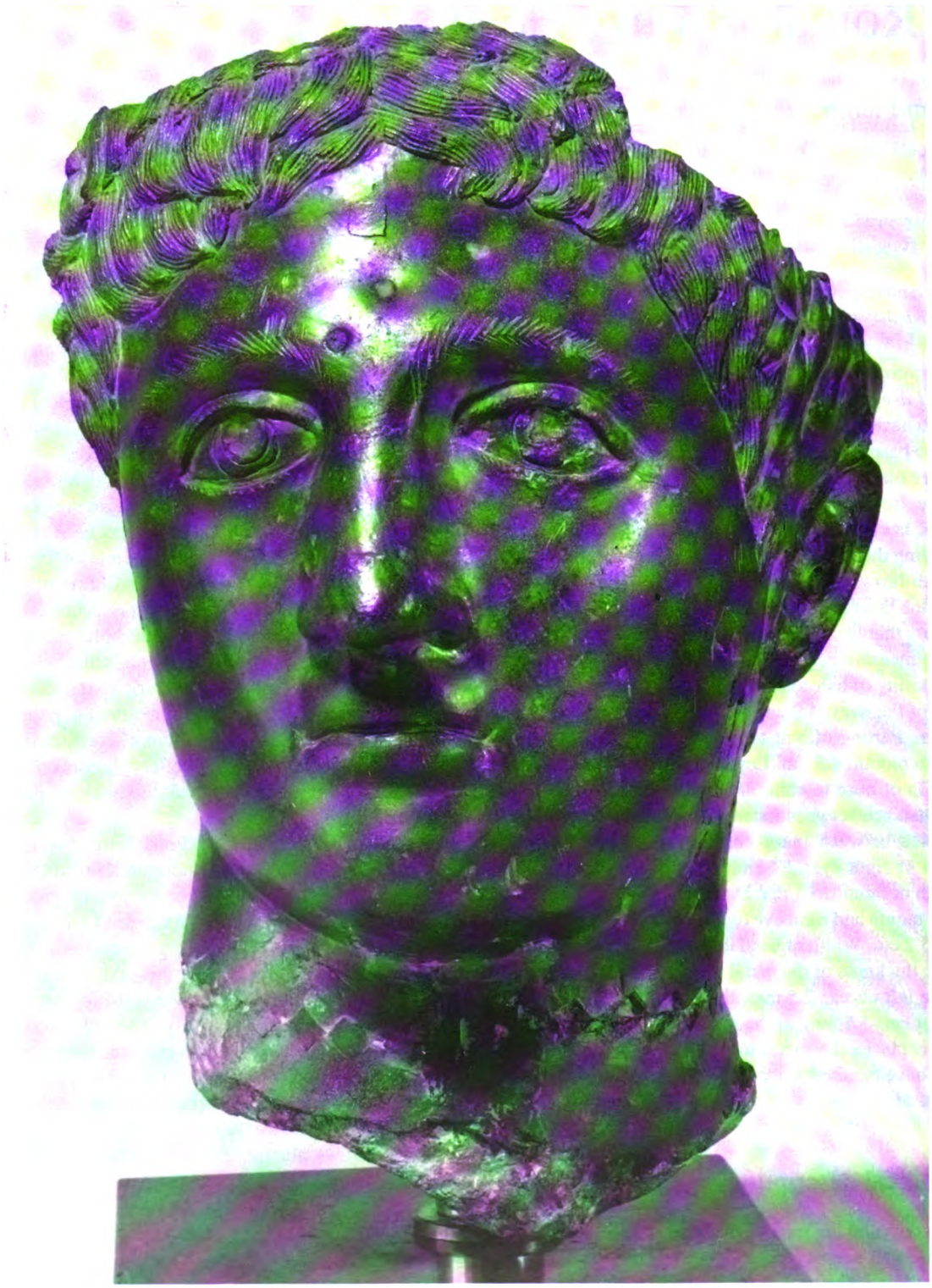

Fig. 1a. Bronze head, MM 1979:10. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Photograph (Figs. 1a–f): Gabriel Hildebrand.

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The head is slightly tilted to its right, which probably means that it was turned in that direction. The face is noticeably asymmetrical: the left cheek and temple are flatter and the left eye is set deeper into the head and slightly higher. The distance from the tip of the nose to the left ear is 6 mm longer than the corresponding distance on the right side. As a result, the head looks different when seen from the right and from the left (cf. *Fig. 1 a* and *b*). The right ear is somewhat flatter than the left and the parting of the hair is slightly displaced to the left. It is difficult to say if these asymmetries are due to damage or are intentional. The greater distances, both horizontal and vertical, in the left half of the face accord with Classical Greek principles, if the head was turned to its right, not, however, the greater flatness of the left half of the face.[8]

Casting technique

The kind of join used at the neck, with rectangular bronze patches sunk into the surface over the join, arranged so as to form a sawtooth pattern, occurs on other Roman bronzes.[9] It was also used for mending breaks[10]

Figs. 1b–d. MM 1979:10.

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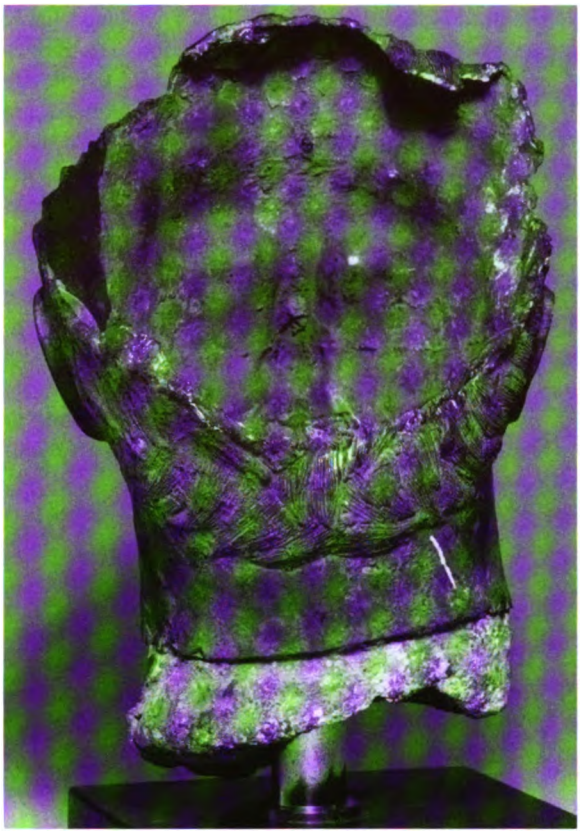

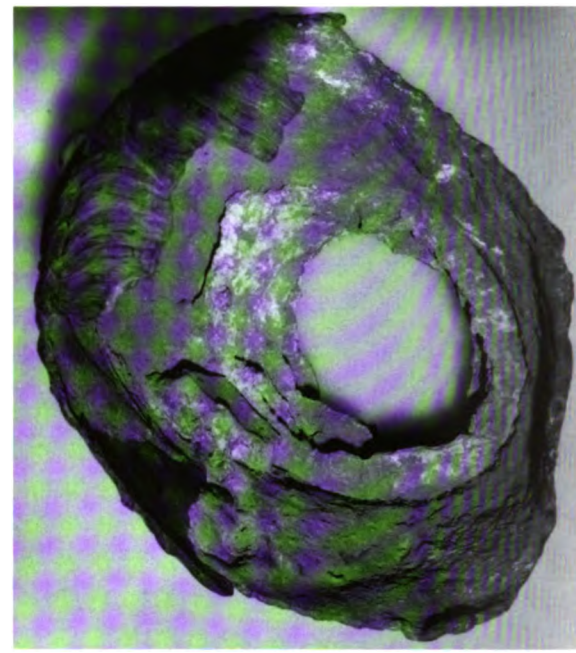

Figs. 1e–f. MM 1979:10 (back and top).

and that could be the explanation for its occurrence at the edge of the neck, on the left side, since it seems less likely that a narrow strip at the neck should have formed part of the original design.[11]

The interior of the head can be studied directly, thanks to its fragmentary state (*Fig. 1 e*). The shape of the eye sockets, the nose and the mouth are clearly visible. The surface of the bronze is uneven and here and there very small globular outgrowths can be seen. A low, irregular ridge can be seen above the hollow of the left eye, probably the result of a break in the core. A horizontal ridge can be seen on both sides of the hollow of the nose. This probably constitutes the junction of two wax sheets, although its length and straightness is surprising, considering the unevenness of the surface. A similar ridge can be seen in the left cheek of the head of the Mars from Todi[12] and similar, straight ridges have been observed on the inside of many Greek and Roman bronzes, for example on torsos in Firenze[13] and Rome.[14] In this case the original wax ridge seems to have been flattened at regular intervals (*Fig. 1 e*). It is thus practically certain that the indirect method of casting was used. In short, this means that piece-moulds are taken from the original model, which are then lined with heated or molten wax and assembled, after which a core is cast in them.[15] This procedure leaves characteristic traces, such as brush-marks, on the inside of the wax and, consequently, on the inside of the bronze as well.[16] The use of the indirect method, a priori to be expected, is further indicated by a thicker area to the right of the hollow forming the nose; the most likely explanation of this feature is that it reproduces the edge of an additional piece of wax covering the recess forming the nose; at this point of a mould the coating of wax is otherwise likely to become too thin.

The bronze

According to the analysis (see Appendix), the metal is a tin-bronze alloy with a very low amount of lead (92% copper, 8% tin, traces of lead). This is unusual for

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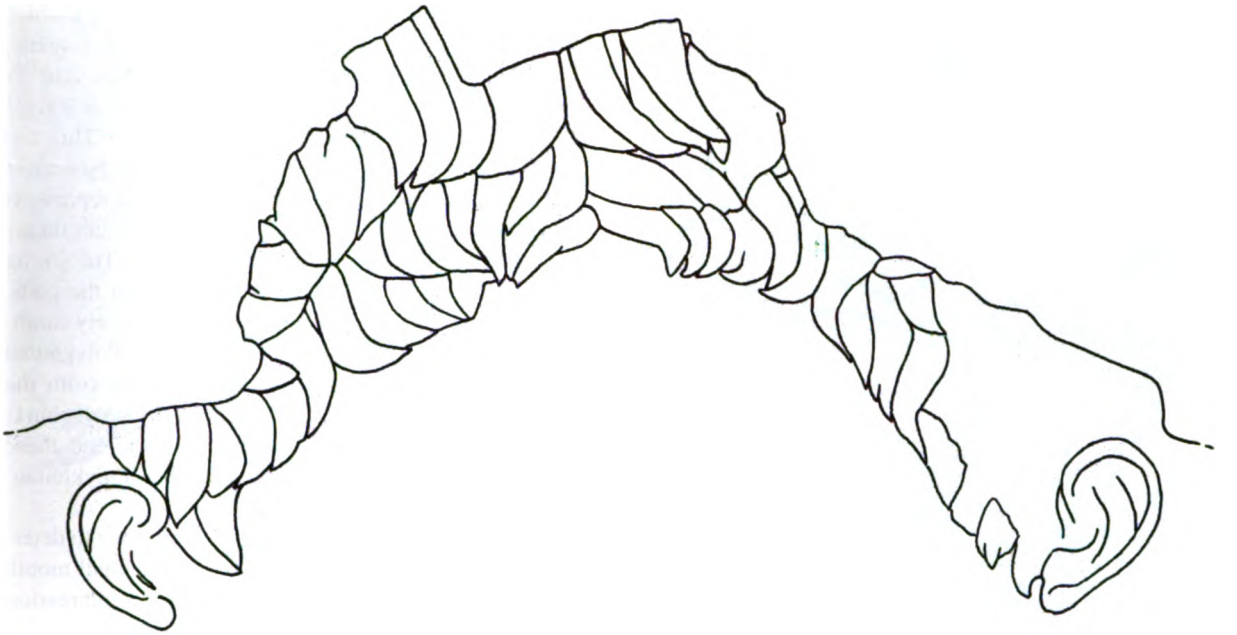

Fig. 1g. MM 1979:10. Schematic drawing of the hair. Drawing: Rickard Holmström.

bronze statuary of Roman Imperial date, which usually has a much higher percentage of lead,[17] whereas Late Archaic and Classical bronzes show values comparable to those of our head.[18] The use of leaded bronze started in the 4th century and became common in the Hellenistic period.[19] However, there are some examples of Roman bronze statuary with low lead content,[20] and Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34.95f.) mentions an apparently contemporary copper alloy which would contain about 7.4% tin and no lead.[21] This recipe, however, evidently concerns bronze vessels, since Pliny mentions a recipe for statuary bronze later (34.97).[22] The alloy used for statuary and tables,[23] according to Pliny, contained copper, scrap bronze (or copper) and *plumbum argentarium*, a term that has been thought to mean an alloy of tin and lead, but probably means tin.[24] That would give a tin content of *c.* 8-14%, depending on the way the ingredients are calculated and the composition of the scrap metal used in this alloy.[25] Published samples of Roman bronze statuary, however, usually contain a considerable amount of lead, up to over 20%, so the recipe of Pliny for statuary bronze is hard to reconcile with the Roman evidence.[26] It has therefore been suggested that Pliny or his source referred to ancient times rather than contemporary practice.[27] In fact the tin content of Classical Greek statues normally falls within the range of 9-11% and the lead content is usually very low.[28] It is thus possible that Pliny's recipe is a 'classicizing' one and that our head is an example of the use of a similar recipe.

The fact that the best parallels for the composition of the bronze are from the Classical period could be considered a clear indication of such a date for the manufacture of the head. However, stylistic as well as technical features, such as the cast eyes and the sawtooth pattern joins, speak for a Roman date. One should also consider that relatively few analyses of Roman bronze statues (as opposed to statuettes) have been made.[29] One reason for the occurrence of unusual compositions of alloys could

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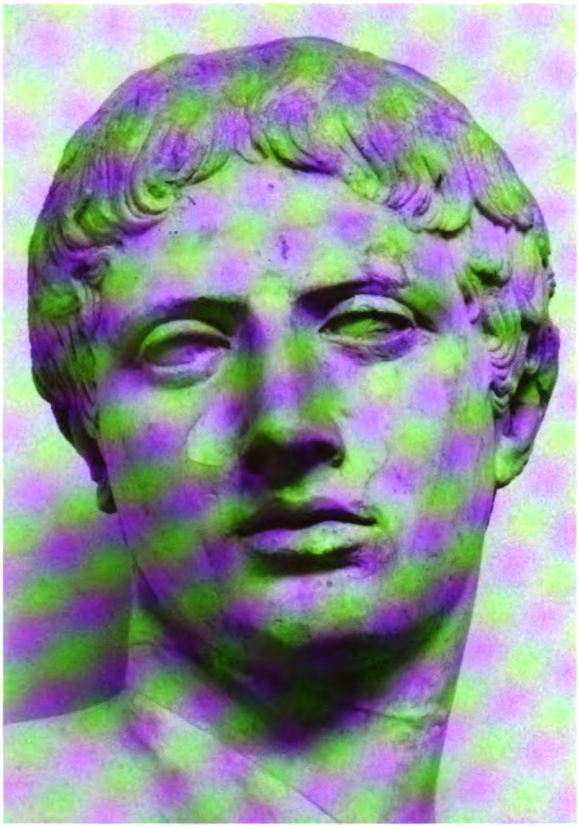

Fig. 2. Head of Polykleitos' Hermes. Roman marble copy. First century A.D. Rome, Palazzo Valentini. Courtesy DAI Rome.

be the use of scrap bronze, another could be the wish to obtain a certain colour. A tin content of up to 15% gives the bronze a golden colour,[30] which may well have been considered appropriate for a classicizing statue. It may also be mentioned that a low lead content is suitable for objects that are to be gilded, which might have been the case with our statue. But this is pure hypothesis. One should, finally, consider the possibility that some artists deliberately went back to Classical compositions of the bronze.

Subject and date

The dominant features of the face are the big nose and the very big eyes. The hair consists of short, pointed locks, arranged in a roughly symmetrical manner (*Fig. 1 g*). The way in which they form groups creates the impression of a highly simplified Polykleitan hairstyle. The shape of the locks has no exact parallel, a fact which may speak for a provincial origin of the head. Usually, Polykleitan locks are more rounded, sickle- and S-shaped. Similar hairstyles occur among Roman statues and statuettes of Polykleitan style (*Fig. 2*).[31] This and the Classical features and proportions[32] of the face make it, in my opinion, more likely that the head represents either an 'ideal' athlete or a hero or a god, rather than a certain individual, as has been suggested.[33] The strong neck would be fitting for an athlete; among the gods, Herakles and Hermes are perhaps the most likely candidates. The traits are not the most typically Polykleitan and the profile with its almost straight line from the forehead to the tip of the nose and the rather small chin is rather reminiscent of fourth century heads. But these traits can also be paralleled among the 'Polykleitan' heads.[34]

The age of the person represented is not easy to determine. At the first glance, the big eyes and small mouth give the impression of a child's face, but this impression is contradicted by the straight, broad nose and the slightly protruding lower part of the forehead (cf. *Fig. 1 d*); on the other hand, the lack of a clear horizontal partition of the forehead, typical of the full-grown male, speaks for an ephebe, i.e. a young man approximately seventeen to nineteen years old.[35] Furthermore, the size of the head is identical with that of several classicizing, Roman heads of youths.[36] It is thus more likely that our head comes from a life-size statue[37] of an ephebe, than from an under life-size statue of a full-grown man.[38] The height of the statue can be estimated to *c.* 1.40-1.50 m. According to Classical standards, the height of the face is one tenth of the full height of a statue,[39] but this ratio is not valid for ephebes, and most Roman bronze statues of youths, with heads of about the same size as the head in Medelhavsmuseet, are *c.* 1.40-1.50 m tall.[40]

Most Roman bronze ephebes have long hair, often arranged in elaborate hairstyles,[41] and do not represent athletes.[42] Some had a purely decorative function as lamp-bearers. Among the bronze athletes of Polykleitan style the Toledo Youth[43] and the Idolino (*Fig. 3*)[44] can give an impression of the kind of statue to which the head in Medelhavsmuseet once belonged.

There are, however, a few portrait heads with more or less Polykleitan hairstyles,[45] so the possibility remains that the head represented an individual, in the shape of a Classical athlete, without individual traits. Statues of victors in athletic games were set up in Roman Imperial times, too,[46] and bronze was the material favoured for statues of humans, marble being more often used for statues of gods.[47] Furthermore, the impersonal expres-

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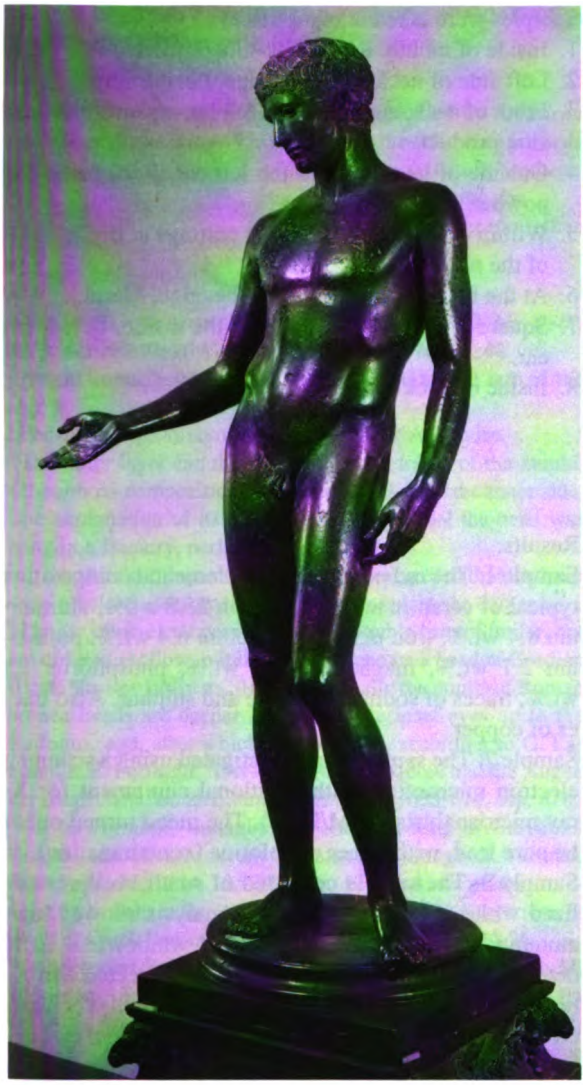

Fig. 3. Bronze statue of an ephebe (Idolino). Height 1.48 m. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Courtesy DAI Rome.

Fig. 4. Bronze statue of a boy. Third century A.D. Height 1.20 m. The J. Paul Getty Museum, California (inv. no. 71.AB.454). Courtesy Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

sion and the big eyes have parallels among late Roman portraits.[48] One example is a bronze statue in the Getty Museum, probably of the mid 3rd century (*Fig. 4*).[49] It is 1.20 m high and represents a nude boy in an heroic attitude. The eyes are big, a trait which, in combination with the smooth forehead, enhanches the childish look of the face. The hair is highly stylized, but not in the Polykleitan manner. The individual locks, however, have a certain similarity to those of our head.[50] Another parallel, especially for the rendering of the mouth, from around 200 A.D., is the bronze head of the young Caracalla in the Lipson collection.[51]

A date of our head in the 3rd or 4th century is, however, far from certain. The big eyes, which at the first glance suggest a late antique date, could as well be ascribed to a provincial origin. Heads from Egypt,[52] Syria,[53] Gaul,[54] and Crete,[55] dated in the 1st-3rd centuries A.D., often have oversize eyes. The schematic, sym-

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metrical shape of the eyes of the head in Medelhavsmuseet, with no rendering of the tear-duct, also has parallels among provincial works.[56] The technical features are also not decisive, but favour a 2nd century dating.[57] A more general argument in favour of this date is the fact that the greatest production of copies and classicizing originals occurred in the Hadrianic and Antonine eras. The Polykleitan style was, however, popular in the early Empire as well.[58]

Conclusions

The head in Medelhavsmuseet is unusual and not easy to classify. It was probably made in a local centre in Asia Minor. The material is a tin-bronze alloy with only traces of lead, a rather unusual composition for a Roman Imperial bronze. However, similar alloys do occur in Roman bronze statuary and one of the bronze recipes of Pliny would give an alloy of this type. The large eyes give the head a personal touch, but the main impression is that of a Classical, Greek head. Particularly the hairstyle is clearly reminiscent of Polykleitan statues, a genre that was popular in Roman Imperial times. I would therefore suggest that the head belonged to a statue *c.* 1.40 m tall, representing a young athlete or, possibly, a hero or god. The date should be somewhere between 150 and 250 A.D. The function of the statue, whether votive or other, is impossible to determine. Although lacking clearly individual traits, it cannot be excluded that it represented an individual in the guise of an 'ideal' figure. The traces of intentional damage and subsequent repair could fit a variety of explanations and need not mean that the statue represented a member of the Imperial house, as has been suggested.

Johan Flemberg
Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History
Gustavianum
Uppsala University
S-753 10 Uppsala

Appendix: Technical analysis

Summary of the analyses performed on the bronze head MM 1979:10, based on the unpublished, Swedish report RIK-A-92-043, Conservation Institute of National Antiquities, Stockholm (RAÄ/Rik).

The examination of the head was made by Mr. Eric Norgren, Conservator at RAÄ/Rik. The chemical analyses were made by Mrs. Kate Tronner and Dr. Anders G. Nord, chemists at RAÄ/Rik.

Samples were taken at eight places:

1. Inside of mouth. Red, brick-like powder.
2. Left side of neck, near the edge. Lead lining.
3. Front of neck, near the edge. White, crystalline corrosion product.
4. Outside of head, behind the left ear. Red, brick-like powder.
5. Within one of the rectangular cuttings at the left side of the neck. Metal.
6. At the back of the neck, near the edge. Metal.
7. Square piece of a lead alloy at the inside, below left ear.
8. Inside of neck. White powder.

Results:

Sample 1. The red powder has an elemental composition typical of ceramic material: silicon 25.8 wt.%, aluminium 8.4 wt.%, iron 6.5 wt.%, calcium 6.4 wt.%, potassium 2.7 wt.%, magnesium 1.5 wt.%, phosphorus 1.3 wt.%, traces of sodium, chlorine and sulphur. Also traces of copper.

Sample 2. The sample was investigated using a scanning electron microscope with additional equipment for X-ray microanalysis (SEM/EDX). The metal turned out to be pure lead, with traces of chlorine (contamination).

Sample 3. The sample consisted of small, well crystallized white granules. SEM/EDX analysis showed high amounts of lead. Using a so-called windowless EDX detector, carbon and oxygen were also detected. An X-ray diffraction analysis showed that the granules consisted of two kinds of lead corrosion products, lead carbonate $PbCO_3$ (*c.* 90%) and alkaline lead carbonate $2PbCO_3 \cdot Pb(OH)_2$ (*c.* 10%).

Sample 4. The red powder turned out to have the same composition as sample 1. Here, too, clear traces of copper.

Sample 5. The sample was scraped from the surface of the pure metal. The main metal is copper with a little tin, i.e. bronze (*c.* 92% copper and 8% tin). In addition there are small amounts of lead, irregularly distributed, probably as an added ingredient.

Sample 6. The sample turned out to be identical with sample 5, i.e. a bronze (*c.* 92% copper, *c.* 8% tin, and some lead).

Sample 7. A lead alloy, consisting of *c.* 94% lead, 5% copper and *c.* 1% tin.

Sample 8. The white salt turned out to be pure plaster, i.e. calciumsulphatedihydrate $CaSO_4 \cdot 2H_2O$.

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* I have benefited from discussing this paper with Dr. Eva Rystedt and Dr. Thomas H. Brobjer.

In addition to the abbreviations recommended by *American Journal of archaeology* 95, 1991, 1-16, the following is used:

Zanker — P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen. Studien zur Veränderung des Kunstgeschmacks in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1974.

[1] *Antike Kunst. Ausstellungs-Katalog Nov. 1977 bis Febr. 1978, Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller*, Zürich 1978, no. 48.

[2] "Right" and "left" refer to the proper right and left of the object.

[3] For the composition of this layer, see the Appendix.

[4] The outer layer can therefore hardly be traces of the mould, although its composition is the same as that on the inner side. One explanation of its existence would be that the head was lying in a foundry, perhaps as scrap metal.

[5] In the sales catalogue (supra n. 1) it is suggested that the head wore a helmet, presumably in order to explain the damage.

[6] I know of no exact parallels for the double lines. Similar, but not quite as shallow, pupils are to be seen on a head of Gordian III, cf. Vasilev (infra n. 20), fig. 1. Usually the pupils of Roman bronze heads are deeper. Portraits have inset eyes up to the Hadrianic age, after which they are cast, according to G. Lahusen & E. Formigli, 'Der Augustus von Meroë und die Augen der römischen Bronzebildnisse', *AA* 1993, 655-674, esp. 670.

[7] Cf. E. Formigli, 'Indagine tecnica sulla testa di Giove del Kunsthistorisches Museum (Antikensammlung) di Vienna', *Alba Regia* 21, 1984, 125-128, esp. 126, n. 4 and pl. 64.

[8] See L.A. Schneider, *Asymmetrie griechischer Köpfe vom 5. Jh. bis zum Hellenismus*, Wiesbaden 1973, 12-14, 24-26.

[9] A Septimius Severus head in Copenhagen, from Bubon: M. Gjödesen, 'Soldat eller filosof? Et romersk kejserportræt fra ca. 200', *MedKöb* 29, 1972, 7-56; V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains. 2. De Vespasien à la basse-antiquité*, Copenhague 1974, no. 127, pl. 197-201; J. Inan & E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde*, Mainz 1979, no. 63, pl. 56. - A portrait head from Bubon: J. Inan, *IstMitt* 27-28, 1977-78, pl. 88. - The right arm of the Toledo youth: C. Vermeule, *Polykleitos*, Boston 1969, figs. 20 A-F; *idem*, *Greek and Roman sculpture in America...* Malibu 1981, no. 24. - A Roman bronze arm from Bubon in Turkey: J. Riederer, 'Die naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung eines römischen Bronzearmes', in *Griechische und römische Statuetten und Großbronzen. Akten der 9. internationalen Tagung über antike Bronzen. Wien, 21-25 April 1986* (eds. K. Gschwantler & A. Bernhard-Walcher), Wien 1988, 158-164. Cf. A. Steinberg, 'Joining methods on large bronze statues: some experiments in ancient technology', in *The application of science in examination of works of art. Proceedings of the seminar June 15-19, 1970, conducted by the research laboratory, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (ed. W.J. Young), Boston 1973, 103-138, note 20: "...A peculiar kind of mechanical bonding is used by arranging small rectangular patches in a sawtooth pattern along the exterior of the join and wiping the interior with lead. This kind of joining is found, among others, on the Septimius Severus in Nicosia, the Toledo Youth, and some of the Roman bronzes from Turkey discussed below (private communication from the man who restored them)." The lead is also mentioned by Riederer.

[10] On the bronze head from Soloi the method was used for fastening a separately cast piece, see K. Faltermeier, 'Der Bronzekopf von Soloi. Rückformung des Abgusses und technische Notizen zur Herstellung', *Arbeitsblätter für Restauratoren* 1978:2, 109-115. Cf. *AA* 1934, 102, fig. 13.

[11] A circular strip occurs at the neck of the "Lady from the sea" in Izmir, according to B.S. Ridgway, *AJA* 71, 1967, 329-334, esp. 332, pl. 100: fig. 12. But here the edges of the strip are parallel, which is not the case on our head.

[12] See F. Roncalli, *Il "Marte" di Todi. Bronzistica Etrusca ed ispirazione classica* (AttPontAcc ser. 3, vol. XI:11), Città del Vaticano 1973, fig. 52 and pl. VI:2. This head is of the same size as MM 1979:10 (facial height 13.3 cm) and was cast by the indirect method, cf. the caption to fig. 57: "L'interno della maschera, con tracce della stesura della cera a pennello". The raised line is, however, not mentioned by Roncalli. Cf. Vasilev (infra n. 20), fig. 5.

[13] E. Formigli, *Prospettiva* 23, 1980, 64, fig. 7 ("zone di connessione tra gli strati di cera").

[14] Se Formigli, Gabrielli & Sannibale (infra n. 15).

[15] For the lost-wax casting technique, see now D. Haynes, *The technique of Greek bronze statuary*, Mainz 1992. A good account, with many illustrations, of the indirect method is also given in E. Formigli, N. Gabrielli & M. Sannibale, 'Indagini sulle tecniche di esecuzione di un torso bronzeo romano dei Musei Vaticani', *BMonMusPont* 10, 1990, 5-24, and V. Galliazzo, *I cavalli di San Marco*, Treviso 1982.

[16] For such traces, see C. Mattusch, *Hesperia* 46, 1977, 382-386, and the works mentioned in the previous notes.

[17] E.g. the bronze arm from Bubon analyzed in J. Riederer, 'Die naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung eines römischen Bronzearmes', in *Griechische und römische Statuetten und Großbronzen* (supra n. 9), 158-164, the alloy of which contained about 22% lead. Another bronze statue from Bubon or the adjacent area, probably representing Marcus Aurelius, has a lead amount of *c.* 20%, tin *c.* 7%, cf. B. Christman, *BClevMus* 74, 1987, 100-113, esp. 105. Cf. the following notes.

[18] The Late Archaic head from Kythera in Berlin, for example, has Cu 90.84%, Sn 8.72% and Pb 0.029%; the Riace A statue has Cu 86-90%, Sn 10-14%, Pb 0.13%; H. Born, in *Griechische und römische Statuetten und Großbronzen* (supra n. 9), 179. Further analyses are quoted in the works listed in nn. 19 and 20.

[19] Cf. P.T. Craddock, 'The composition of the copper alloys used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman civilisations. 2. The Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greeks', *JAS* 1977, 103-123, esp. 114; E.R. Caley, 'Chemical composition of Greek and Roman statuary bronzes' in *Art and technology. A symposium on classical bronzes* (ed. S. Doeringer, D.G. Mitten & A.

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Steinberg), Cambridge, Mass. & London 1970, 37-49, esp. 39f. and Haynes (above n. 15), 88.

[20] Caley (above n. 19), 41, Table III ("Uncertain Greek or Hellenistic statuary"), no. 3, a small, solid statuette from the Agora containing 92.28% Cu, 7% Sn, 0.13% Pb. It was found in a deposit of ca. 150 A.D. and a Roman Imperial date is thus possible; *ibid.*, p. 43, Table VI, no. 2 (statue of a boy) with 87.16% Cu, 10.72% Sn, 2.01% Pb. Some examples of Roman bronzes with low lead content (below 2%) occur among the bronzes of the J. Paul Getty Museum, see D.A. Scott & J. Podany, 'Ancient copper alloys: some metallurgical and technological studies of Greek and Roman bronzes, in *Small bronze sculpture from the ancient world. Papers delivered at a symposium organized by the Departments of antiquities and antiquities conservation and held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, March 16-19, 1989*, Malibu 1990, 31-60, esp. 43, table 2. The equestrian statue of Augustus found in the Aegean sea was made of an alloy containing *c.* 87% Cu, *c.* 12% Sn and *c.* 1% Pb, see E. Touloupa, 'Das bronzene Reiterstandbild des Augustus aus dem nordägäischen Meer', *AM* 101, 1986, 185-205, esp. 204. A head of Gordian III is made of an alloy containing 86% Cu, 12% Sn, 0.5% Pb, 1.5% zinc, iron etc, according to V. P. Vasilev, 'Untersuchungen zu Bronzekopf Gordian III. aus Nicopolis ad Istrum', in *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato. Atti della II conferenza internationale sul ritratto romano. Roma, 26-30 settembre 1984* (ed. N. Bonacasa & G. Rizza), Roma 1988, 541-546. Some of the analyses of Roman bronzes from Morocco, published by C. Boube-Piccot, *Les bronzes antiques du Maroc.* 1. *La statuaire*, Rabat 1969, tables 1-9), show lead contents of 1-5%.

[21] The passage (*Fit Campano simile in multis partibus Italiae provinciisque, sed octonas plumbi libras addunt...*) is treated by Caley (supra n. 19), 47 and translated by him as follows: "A variety which resembles Campanian is made in many parts of Italy and in many provinces, but they add eight pounds of tin (lead?)", with the comment "...the bronze produced...would contain about 7.4 per cent tin and no lead, if the unmodified word *plumbum* in the recipe denotes tin, which seems very probable". See also Boucher and Wielowiejski (infra n. 24).

[22] *Sequens temperatura statuaria est eademque tabularis hoc modo: massa proflatur in primis, mox in proflatum additur tertia portio aeris collectanei, hoc est ex usu coempti. peculiare in eo condimentum attritu domiti et consuetudine nitoris veluti mansuefacti. miscentur et plumbi argentarii pondo duodena ac selibrae centenis proflati.*

[23] According to Boucher (infra n. 24), 288, the word *tabularis* refers to inscription plaques (*tabulae*) and not to tables. H. Blümner was of the same opinion.

[24] Arguments for this view are given by S. Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* (BEFAR 228), Rome 1976, 285-293, esp. 285f. and M. Picon, J. Condamin & S. Boucher, *Gallia* 25, 1967, 161f. The bronze recipes of Pliny are also treated by J. Wielowiejski, 'Bericht des Plinius des älteren über die Legierung der römischen Bronzegefässe im Lichte der chemischen Analyse', *Alba regia* 21, 1984, 129-134 and *idem*, 'Die spätkeltischen und römischen Bronzegefässe in Polen', *BerRGK* 66, 1985, 123-320, esp. 239-249. J. Riederer, 'Metallanalysen römischer Bronzen', in *Toreutik und figürliche Bronzen römischer Zeit. Akten der 6. Tagung über antike Bronzen 13-17 Mai 1980 in Berlin* (ed. U. Gehrig), Berlin 1984, 220-225, classifies Roman copper alloys into 24 groups, two of which are constituted by copper amounts of around 90%, tin amounts of up to 10%. The objects studied by him are mostly pieces of furniture and coins.

[25] The recipe (supra n. 22) is usually interpreted so as to give a minimum tin amount of 11% (e.g. by Picon, Condamin & Boucher, supra n. 24). However, if the amount of *plumbum argentarium* (tin) is given in relation to the melted metal (*proflatum*) exclusive of the scrap bronze, the minimum tin content will be 8.6% or 8.3% (the last-mentioned result will occur if the portion of scrap bronze is calculated in relation to both the pure copper and the tin). The repetition of the word *proflatum* in the last sentence would seem to support this interpretation. As for the total tin content, it depends on the composition of the scrap metal. If this was bronze with a tin content of 7%, the total would be, on the traditional interpretation, 12.7%, on the interpretation suggested here, 10.2% and 10.1%, respectively. If the scrap bronze contained 14% tin, the percentages would be 14.2, 11.8 and 11.8 (sic), respectively. Wielowiejski (supra n. 24), although not dealing much with this recipe, writes that the scrap metal made up a third part, instead of a fourth part, of the melted metal. This would of course mean that the tin amount of the alloy would become higher (unless the scrap metal did not contain any tin).

[26] Cf. Caley (supra n. 19), 47f., who discusses the recipe of Pliny for statuary bronze on the assumption that *plumbum argentarium* means tin-lead alloy. However, only one example of Roman statuary, the composition of which comes close to this, is mentioned (Table VI, 5; an animal statuette); another would be a statue fragment of late Republican date in Rome, in which the average amounts of lead and tin are 4.9% and 5.03%, respectively (L.P. Hurtel, *BMonMusPont* 8, 1988, 52f.). The alloy corresponds to Riederer's group 12 (supra n. 24), 221 (Blei-Zinn-Bronze). But cf. supra n. 24 for the interpretation of *plumbum argentarium*.

[27] Boucher (supra n. 24), 287f. The term *aes tabulare*, however, was apparently in use (*ILS* 8379 = *CIL* 13.5708), as noted by Boucher, a fact which rather speaks in favour of the recipes being Roman.

[28] See Craddock (supra n. 19) and Haynes (supra n. 15), 87f. According to Picon, Boucher & Condamin (*Gallia* 24, 1966), 210, the average amount of tin in ancient bronze statuary is 7%. In the article, however, they only deal with Roman and Etruscan material.

[29] Craddock's two articles have not, to my knowledge, been followed by a third, dealing with the Roman period. A large number of analyses, however, were published by Boube-Piccot (supra n. 19). Some new analyses of Roman bronze statuary are to be found in *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslawien*, Frankfurt 1988.

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[30] Cf. Haynes (supra n. 15), 84. Evidently the addition of zinc is even more effective in this respect. Vasilev (supra n. 20), 544, notes the golden colour of the bronze of the head of Gordian, the lead content of which is low (0.5 %).

[31] E.g. the Idolino, Zanker, pl. 34:3-4 (*Fig. 3*); the Petworth Oil-pourer, *ibid.*, pl. 41:3-4; athlete in the Vatican, *ibid.*, pl. 40:5-7; head of Doryphoros type on the frieze of the Porticus of Tiberius, G. Iacopi, *MonAnt* 38, 1939, pl. 29:103, D. Kreikenbom, *Bildwerke nach Polyklet. Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den männlichen statuarischen Typen nach polykletischen Vorbildern. 'Diskophoros', Hermes, Doryphoros, Herakles, Diadumenos*, Berlin 1990, pl. 209:a; bust of Polykleitos' Herakles, *ibid.*, pl. 221; bronze statuette from Annecy, *ibid.*, pl. 97-99, pp. 53-55; head of Hermes, *ibid.*, pl. 73 (*Fig. 2*); the Toledo youth (supra n. 9).

[32] A comparison with a known Polykleitan type shows only approximately identical ratios, however. According to the measurements of A. Kalkmann, *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst* (MWPr 53), Berlin 1893, 36, 88, of the head of the Doryphoros in Naples, the distance from tip of nose to chin is a third of the height of the face and the distance from mouth to chin is a quarter of the height of the face. The measurements given by H. v. Steuben, *Der Kanon des Polyklet. Doryphoros und Amazone*, Tübingen 1973, 19 (from the Naples herm), are slightly different: tip of nose to chin 7.1 cm, height of face 20 cm. The corresponding ratios of our head are: *c.* 5 cm and *c.* 3.8 cm to *c.* 13.6 cm, respectively. The nose is thus shorter than on the Doryphoros. The horizontal ratios also differ from those of our head, as far as they can be estimated: on the Doryphoros, the distance between the outer corners of the eyes equals half the heigth of the face and the width of the face including the ears equals the heigth of the face.

[33] In the sales catalogue (supra n. 1) the head is considered to be an idealized portrait of a prince. Perhaps it was the damage and subsequent repair of the head that made the author suppose that it represents a prince.

[34] E.g. a head in Baltimore, D.K. Hill, 'Polykleitos: Diadoumenos, Doryphoros and Hermes', *AJA* 74, 1970, 21-24, pl. 4:8; Kreikenbom (supra n. 31), pl. 96:a.

[35] There are, however, exceptions to this rule, e.g. the Youth from Tralles. Cf. J. Flemberg, 'Some notes on age and gender differentiation in Greek art' (forthcoming), and Zanker, *passim*.

[36] The bronze head of a youth in Munich, for example, has the same facial height (13.6 cm), cf. Zanker, 33. On the so-called Orpheus head (Zanker, pl. 64) the corresponding distance is 13.7 cm. Cf. infra n. 40.

[37] It is of course possible that it belonged to a herm, but I see no reason to suppose that.

[38] For the last-mentioned possibility, see infra, n. 46.

[39] Kalkmann (supra n. 32), 36, 88.

[40] The youth from Volubilis is 1.40 m high, the heigth of the head being 21.8 cm, that of the face 13.4 cm, see Boube-Piccot (supra n. 20), 153-156, esp. n. 4. The youth from Via dell'Abbondanza (W. Amelung, *Jdl* 42, 1927, 137-151; Zanker, 87, pl. 68:1) is 1.49 m, the height of the face 12.9 cm (G. E. Rizzo, *BullCom* 53, 1925, 33). The ephebe in Antequera is 1.43 m tall, *Los bronces romanos en España*, Madrid s.a., no. 174; the Toledo youth (Zanker, 37, pl. 33:5) is also 1.43 m. According to Zanker, 36 and 41, the canonical height of an *ephebos* is *c.* 1.50 m, that of a *pais c.* 1.10 m. The bronze statue from the house of Fabius Rufus in Pompeii (inv.no. 13112) should probably be called a boy, being 1.22 m tall, with a facial height of 18 cm (*Rediscovering Pompeii. Exhibition by IBM-ITALIA New York City, IBM Gallery of Science and Art 12 July-15 Sept. 1990*, Rome 1990, no. 180).

[41] E.g. Zanker, pl. 55:1-2, 68:1.

[42] For one example of a nude youth with short hair, presumably an athlete, sligthly over 50 cm tall, see *Los bronzes romanos* (supra n. 40), no. 175.

[43] Dated by Vermeule (supra n. 9), 23, 46, in the 2nd century A.D., by Zanker, 37, *c.* 50 B.C.

[44] Firenze, Mus. arch. Zanker, 30-32; dated by him in the 1st cent. B.C. The pose of the head was more upright in our case, however.

[45] Apart from the Augustus heads, the boy from Tralles could be mentioned (*AP* 4, 1965, pl. 46; late Hellenistic or Augustan. But is this really a portrait?), further a marble head in Thera (Kreikenbom (supra n. 31), 92, pl. 205; Augustan) and a marble head of a boy in Bochum, cf. *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik. Ausstellung im Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik...*, Mainz 1990, 650f., cat. no. 181; late 1st century B.C.).

[46] See, for example, the inscribed base with cuttings for a bronze statue in F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nordlykien)* (SBWien 278:3), Wien 1972, 42f., no. 15. It is of Roman Imperial date and was set up by a victor in the men's wrestling. The upper surface measures only 46 by 35 cm, so the statue may well have been somewhat under life-size.

[47] See G. Lahusen, '*Ars humanissima*. Zur Ikonologie des Materials der römischen Plastik und Skulptur', *Acta Hyperborea* 4, 1992, 173-195, esp. 187f., with reference to Pliny's book 34 and the investigations of K. Tuchelt.

[48] E.g. a marble head in the Capitoline Museums, dated around 350 A.D., *Roman portraits*, London s.a., no. 113; H. von Heintze (ed.), *Römische Porträt-Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, Stuttgart 1961, pl. 45. See also Wood (infra n. 49). Big eyes: female head in Copenhagen, end of 4th century, Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum (supra n. 9), no. 306, pl. 216; a late Severan bust in Copenhagen, *ibid.*, no. 305, pl. 214:4, 215; W. Oberleitner, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken Porträtplastik aus Ephesos', *Öjh* 47, 1964/65, 5-35. Especially 5th century heads show this trait.

[49] C. Vermeule & N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the ancient art in the J. Paul Getty museum. The larger statuary, wall paintings and mosaics*, Malibu 1973, no. 76; Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum (supra n. 9), no. 334, pl. 243 (with bibliography). There dated in the first half of the third century A.D.; S. Wood, 'Child-emperors and heirs to power in third-century portrai-

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ture', in *Ancient portraits in the J. Paul Getty museum* 1, 1987, 115-136, esp. 135f. She concludes that the statue probably is a private portrait, perhaps funerary, dating to around 260 A.D.

[50] Cf. Wood (supra n. 49), fig. 13c.

[51] M. Gjödesen (supra n. 9), figs. 58-59; J. Inan, *IstMitt* 27/28, 1977/78, pl. 86; Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum (supra n. 9), no. 68.

[52] Cf. the bronze head from Egypt, 14 cm high, published by W.H. Gross in *AA* 1974, 69-71, fig. 28. It is tentatively dated by him in the 1st century A.D.

[53] See K. Parlasca, 'Zur syrischen Kunst der frühen Kaiserzeit', *AA* 1967, 547-568, where several examples of provincial heads with big eyes are given, many of which, according to Parlasca, are to be dated in the 1st or 2nd century A.D.

[54] F. Braemer, 'Sculptures en métal battu et repoussé de la Gaule romaine et des régions limitrophes', *RA* 1968, 327-354. The gold bust from Avenches, however, usually identified with Marcus Aurelius, has recently been dated in the 4th century, see J. Ch. Balty, 'Le prétendu Marc-Aurèle d'Avenches', in *Eikones. Festschrift Hans Jucker* (AntK-BH 12), Bern 1980, 57-63. Italic terracotta heads could also be mentioned, e.g. B.M. Felletti Maj, *Museo nazionale romano. I ritratti*, Roma 1953, no. 40.

[55] A. Stavridis, 'Römische Porträts im archäologischen Museum von Chania', *Boreas* 8, 1985, 105-110, pl. 9-19, esp. pl. 10:3-6 (Julio-Claudian), 12:4-6 (Hadrianic).

[56] Cf. Braemer (supra n. 54), fig. 17. Cf. also the bronze head of a youth, from Turkey, in Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum (supra n. 9), no. 299, pl. 212. It is dated in the 3rd century.

[57] See supra n. 9 for the technique of joining, and n. 6 for the rendering of the eyes.

[58] Zanker, 43f. Most of the examples come from Italy.

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Notes from the Graeco-Roman Department

Four Luristan bronzes

In the fall of 1993 Medelhavsmuseet received a donation of four bronzes of a type commonly called Luristan. These were, according to the donator, purchased by his relative Einar Ekstrand while acting as a Swedish diplomat in Iraq in the 1920's. His notes state that the bronzes were bought in Ur. They are in fine condition.

In order to place these bronzes in their most likely context I have first and foremost compared them with excavated material. We are fortunate in having access to a lot of such material from Luristan. Good parallels have been found in Danish excavations of the 1960's, and the Holmes expeditions from the 1930's which have been published at last. Louis Vanden Berghe's extensive excavations in the Pusht-i Kuh, that part of Luristan closest to Iraq, also provide ample comparisons.[1]

Pin
Inv. no.: 1993:5.
Measures: L 21.5 cm; W head 0.9 cm; upper Th 0.7 cm; L decor 4.3 cm.
Description: Simple cast, geometric, rounded pyramidal head, short neck.
Decor: Three long cylindrical mouldings separated by three smaller mouldings on upper section of the shank.
Condition: Light green on royal green patina. Slightly bent, narrows with somewhat irregular edges towards the sharp point, possibly missing the final mm.
Discussion: The closest comparison of excavated pins I find from Bard-i Bal, Iron 1, with some similar geometric decor but different top and somewhat shorter.[2] Vanden Berghe has also excavated slightly similar pins from Kalleh Nisar that he dates Akkadian, but several details are different and the pins are much shorter.[3]

More or less similar pins, dating to the early first millenium B.C. have also been excavated in Tepe Giyan.[4] Pins in collections are illustrated best in the Ashmolean publication.[5]
Dating: Early first millenium B.C., or possibly 2400-2100 B.C.

Pin
Inv. no.: 1993:6.
Measures: L 20.4 cm; W head 0.8 cm; L decor 5.5 cm.
Description: Simple cast, geometric, rounded club-like head.
Decor: Incised patterns in panels from top toward point. Panel 1: zigzag? (incisions hard to see). Panel 2: hanging triangles outlined in double lines filled with diagonals. Panel 3: zigzags. Panel 4: simple hanging triangles.
Condition: Some green and beige on black patina. The decor is obscured by the patina.
Discussion: Just as for the pin above (1993:5) I find the best excavated parallels three pins from Bard-i Bal.[6] These date to Iron 1, and have some geometric decor, but are considerably shorter. Other pins from a Late Bronze Age tomb at Tepe Sarab Bagh (1600-1300 B.C.) show a similar shape although the decor is not visible.[7]

Somewhat similar pins have also been excavated in Tepe Giyan dating to the early first millenium B.C.[8]

To compare pins in collection see the Ashmolean museum publication.[9]
Dating: Early first millenium B.C. and possibly even 1600-1300 B.C.

Cup/bowl
Inv. no.: 1993:3.
Measures: H 6 cm; max. W 8.9 cm; inner Ø 6.5 cm; Th. 0.2 cm.
Description: Hammered sheet metal. Bowl with narrow everted rim, slightly concave, vertical neck ending with a sharp carination at the shoulder. The straight sided body ends with a slight carination leading into the lightly

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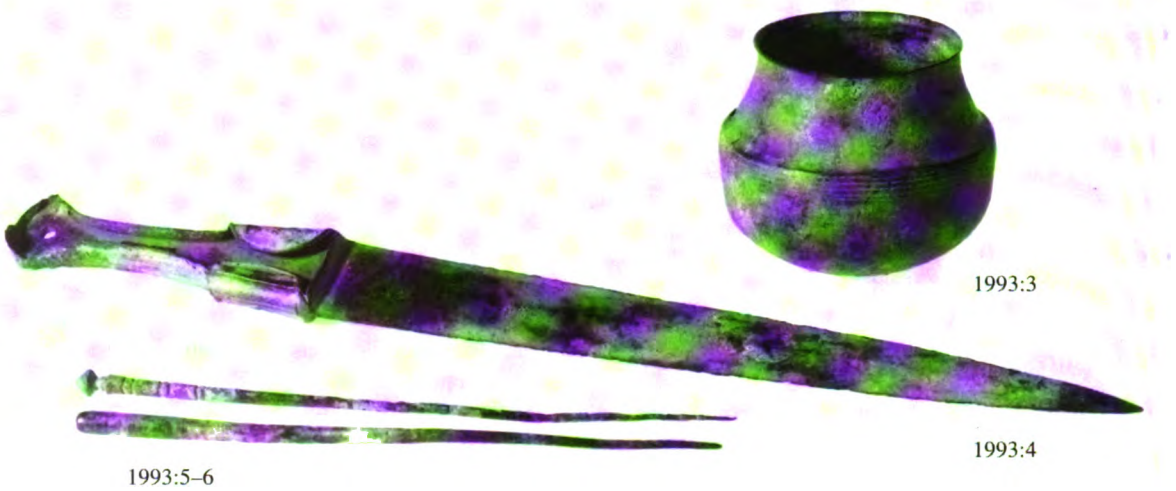

1993:3

1993:4

1993:5–6

rounded base.
Decor: Five uneven incised parallel lines around the shoulder.
Condition: Beige encrustation on light green patina. Slight crack and small hole directly above shoulder.
Discussion: A very similar copper/bronze bowl, only slightly larger, was excavated at Khatun Ban in the 1930's during the Holmes expeditions to Luristan dated Iron 2.[10] Another excavated bronze vessel dated to the Early Iron Age was found at Tepe Guran in grave 4.[11] Other similar excavated bowls can be found in pottery. One is a vessel with striped shoulder, another has the same shape. Both are from Kutal-i Gulgul, dated Iron 2. The same shape is also found in a context dated Late Iron 1.[12]

The best bronze comparisons in collections are found in the Metropolitan and Ashmolean museums.[13] Being quite similar they could in fact have been made by the same hand.
Dating: Early first millenium B.C., Late Iron 1–Iron 2 (*c.* 1100-800 B.C.).

Hilted dirk [14]
Inv. no.: 1993:4.
Measures: L 39.2 cm; L hilt 12.0 cm; W pommel 3.1 cm; W grip 1.3 cm; W guard 3.2 cm; L ricasso 4.7 cm; L blade 27 cm; max. W blade 3.2 cm.
Description: Rim-flanged constricted grip and square guard hilt, H-shaped with bracket sides in cross section. I call this hilt form constricted grip and square guard (CSQ). The blade shape is triangular with an elongated lozenge section: a midrib that looks like a long V on the blade face. The blade ends in a sharp point.
Decor: A relief band divided into two panels with incised zigzag lines runs along the outside edge of the hilt. On the pommel these turn into four straight hatched bands.
Condition: Bent flanges, one lappet missing, each more or less cracked. The jagged pommel edge is mostly missing but the decor band is complete. No trace of inlays. Patina on hilt: beige on green; on blade: beige on green on black. In the middle of one blade face is a tin colored encrustation—could this be a modern repair? There are traces of sharpening on the slightly jagged edge.
Discussion: The closest parallels we have among excavated material are two weapons excavated in the Pusht-i Kuh by Prof. Louis Vanden Berghe. I have seen these parallels in Brussels on exhibit and in the excavation inventories *Inventaris* III and *Inventaris* IV at Riksuniversiteit in Ghent.[15]

The first of the two is a dirk from Katal Tang-i Gulgul, inv. no. 72/77 (A6 n. 19), dated originally to Iron 1 (*Inventaris* IV, p. 49). It seems to be published in

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Vanden Berghe & Haerinck 1984, in fig. 6 far left, redated to the end of his Iron 1 and 2, and where the site is identified as Kutal-i Gulgul. The photo is small and the material not specifically identified, but since this is the only dirk of its kind that I know of from this site it is surely the same weapon. This shows the closest resemblance to newest acquisition of Medelhavsmuseet. The second similar dirk, excavated at Duruyah, inv. no. 72/355 (T. 1 n. 5), dates to Iron 1/2 as does a dagger with a similar hilt also from Duruyah, inv. no. 72/365 (T. 13 no. 9). Both these Duruyah finds are documented in *Inventaris* III. Additional parallels though less similar are the CSQ daggers excavated at Tepe Giyan and at Pa-Yi Kal (Pusht-i Kuh), inv. no. 69/4 (T. 3 n. 10), dated Iron 1. The one J.E. Curtis published as excavated at Ur is CSQ in shape but lacks lappets and is not that similar to ours. Others with somewhat similar hilts were excavated at Tepe Guran, dated Early Iron and Tang-i-Hamamlan, dated Late Iron Age.[16]

In order to reconstruct a complete hilt I suggest a comparison with a winged pommel (2WP) bronze dirk with one rivet hole from Kutal-i Gulgul, dated Iron 1/2 which has its inlays intact and the cast 2WP pommel bronze dagger from Bard-i Bal, dated Late Iron 1.[17] Having seen these it is quite likely that our dirk had inlays similar to those stone inlays in the weapon in the Metropolitan Museum or that in the David-Weill Collection with alabaster remains and similar blade shape.[18] This also has decor on the blade.
Dating: Late Iron 1 (*c.* 1100-1000 B.C.).

Conclusions
While I have found a kind of parallel to the pins dating in the second millennium, many of the excavated comparisons for the four bronzes date to the Iron Age and can even be narrowed down to Late Iron 1. With the exception of the vessel many of the excavated bronze comparisons come from sites fairly close to one another in central Luristan. Therefore I question a provenance from Ur even though J.E. Curtis published a CSQ dagger excavated there. The resemblance of our new acquisitions to the Pusht-i Kuh examples is much closer. In fact these four bronzes could well have been dug up out of the same Iron Age grave in central Pusht-i Kuh, thus making it possible to call them Luristan bronzes. So how did these bronzes find their way to Ur? And when? In modern times, or in the Iron Age?

Pat Marino Hultman
Medelhavsmuseet

Three Black-on-Red vases at Medelhavsmuseet

The three vases to be presented here, i. e. a jug, a juglet and a flask, are among the nearly one hundred Cypriote vessels from different periods which were donated by Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf in 1926 to the Museum of National Antiquities (Statens Historiska Museum), going into the so-called Comparative Collection. In the 1950s they were transferred to the newly founded Medelhavsmuseet, along with other material in the Collection known to have a Mediterranean origin.

These Cypriote vases may be compared to another Cypriote group which was given to the National Museum in Stockholm at about the same time and by the same donor. These vases are kept at Medelhavsmuseet as well. The background in both cases is a gift by the Swedish Consul on Cyprus, Luke Z. Pierides, to the Swedish Crown Prince, just two years before the initiation of the large-scale Swedish excavations on Cyprus (1927–1931). All these vases lack exact information as to findplace, and none has been formally published.[19]

The clay of the respective vase is reddish brown as is the thin, lustrous slip of the jug and flask, the slip of the juglet however being red.[20] The decoration is executed in black, matt paint.

The jug, inv. no. MM SHM 17946:66, has a globular body with a flat base, a tapering neck, a trefoil mouth with a slightly incurved rim and one double vertical handle from rim to shoulder. The rim and sides of the handle are painted black. The neck is decorated with two irregular bands and one band marks the transition between neck and body. The body is decorated with a series of horizontal lines and groups of concentric circles. On the shoulder opposite the handle there are two intersecting straight lines. A small piece of the handle is missing. The jug measures 20.3 cm in height and 14.1 cm in width.

The flask, inv. no. MM SHM 17946:67, has likewise a globular body with a flat base. The neck is concave and the horizontal mouth funnel-shaped. Two flat vertical handles run from the handle-ridge on the neck to the shoulder. The rim and upper part of the interior of the neck are painted black. Two irregular bands are placed around the neck as well as one band below the mouth, one band on the handle-ridge and one band on the transition from neck to body. The sides of the handles are also painted. The body is decorated with a series of horizontal bands and concentric circles. Small pieces are missing in the restored neck. The height measures 15.0 cm and the width 9.6 cm.

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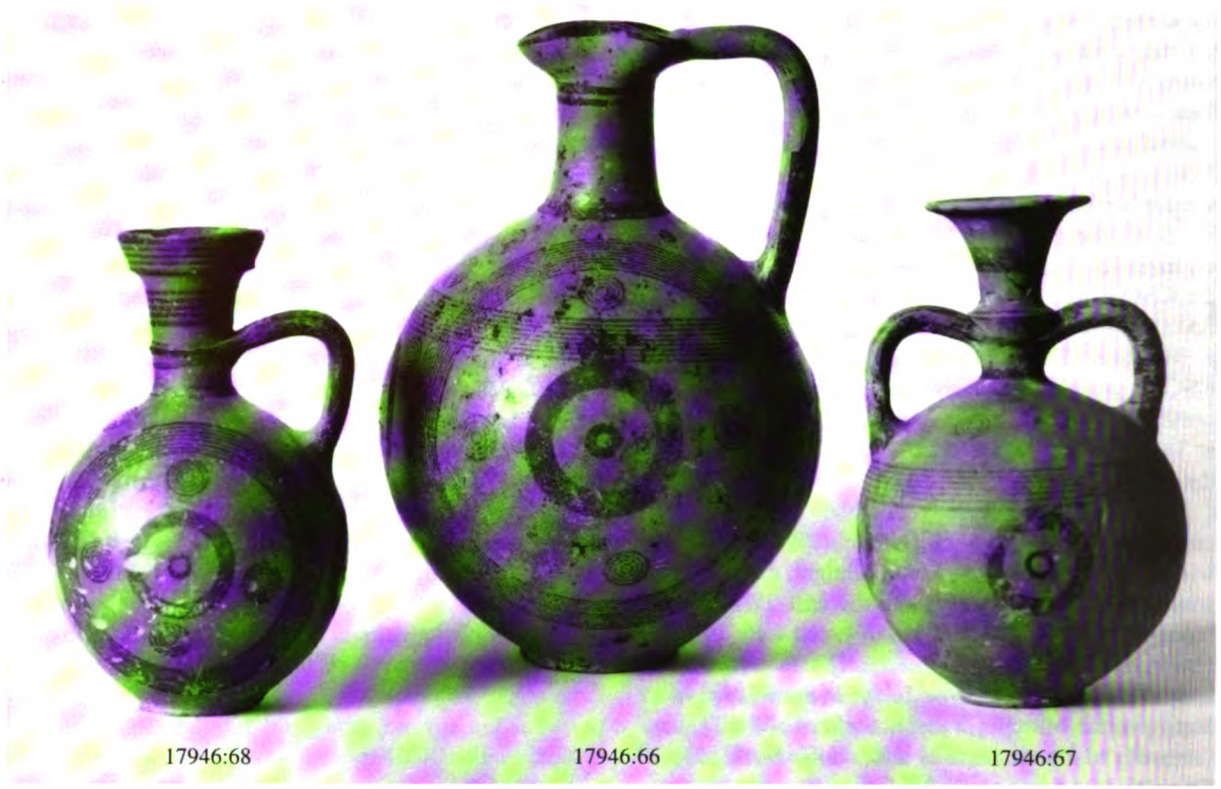

The juglet, inv. no. MM SHM 17946:68, has an oval body with a flat base, a concave neck and a collar-shaped rim. A flat vertical handle runs from the ridged neck to the shoulder. Irregular bands are placed on the neck as well as one on the handle-ridge and one marks the transition from neck to body. Bands appear also on the rim and on the upper part of the interior of the neck. The body is decorated with groups of concentric circles in varying sizes. The handle is painted on the sides and with a ladder-pattern on the top. Small pieces of the rim and flakes of the body are missing. The height is 13.8 cm and the width 8.9 cm.

The shape and decoration of the jug and flask define them as belonging to the II (IV) category, the decoration being in accordance with the developed circular style.[21] The globular, almost spheric, jug with the intersecting circle design appears in numerous parallells from Cyprus[22] and Syria-Palestine.[23] The Black-on-Red two-handled flask, introduced into the Cypriote repertoire alongside the one-handled juglet, compares well with examples from Cyprus[24] and Palestine.[25]

An attribution also of the juglet to the II (IV) category is most probable, the shape however being somewhat enigmatic. Neither the neck nor the mouth conforms to the varying shapes of the Black-on-Red small handle-ridge jugs with which the juglet foremost may be associated. Note also the lack of the otherwise characteristic horizontal bands. The juglet moreover gives the impression of being influenced by the Cypriote tradition of the White Painted and Bichrome one-handled jugs, however keeping the collar-shaped mouth alongside the handle-ridge.[26] Elements such as the rather wide neck and the arrangement of the painted bands on the neck and rim may also be compared with early examples of White Painted barrel-shaped jugs.[27] Finally, there are similarities in shape and decoration of neck with a Bichrome III juglet from Kition[28] and a Black-on-Red II (IV) jug from Amathus,[29] in shape and decoration of body with a Black-on-Red II (IV) jug in the Cesnola Collection[30] together with a Bichrome IV juglet from Marion.[31]

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Attempts to ascertain an accurate dating of the three vases illustrate the recognized problem of inconsistency between the Iron age chronologies of Cyprus and Syria-Palestine. A conventional classification of the three vases would favour the Cypro-Archaic I period.[32] If consideration is to be taken to the comparative material from the Levantine mainland, thereby including parallell examples from late 10th- and 9th- century B.C. stratigraphical contexts,[33] the vases must also be seen as possibly belonging to the Cypro-Geometric III period.[34]

Tina Haettner Blomquist
Lund University
Department of Theology and Religious Studies
Allhelgona Kyrkogata 8
S-223 62 Lund

A Cypriote head

A Cypriote head of a young man in a Swedish private collection was recently brought to our notice at Medelhavsmuseet. It was probably acquired in Nicosia during the 1960s.[35]

The head is rather badly damaged but shows some interesting and unusual features. The material is a light buff limestone with buff-greyish patina. The head is beardless, oval and long-faced with a prominent chin. Hair is indicated by radiating grooves on the crown of head and a triple fringe with spiral curls at the face and the neck. The forehead slopes gently back and was presumably in line with the nose, which is now broken off. The nose was long and probably narrow, contrasting with the broad mouth. The eyes are large and almond-shaped with prominent lids. They are set close to each other and display an oblique slant. The eyebrows, echoing the shape of the eyes, are rendered in subtle relief. The mouth bows conspicuously, with a downward turn both at the centre and the corners. The ears, partly hidden below the hair, are roughly cut. The hair is crowned by a laurel wreath, now rather chipped.

The face as a whole is smoothly modelled with soft transitions. The cheekbones are not very marked and chin and cheek pass gently over into each other. In contrast, the details of eyes and mouth are characterized by sharply chiselled forms. In the present condition of the sculpture these two features attract the viewer's attention to the centre of the face.

The head is broken-off at the neck and part of the left side of the face is split away. There are also chips on the right side of the face, on the remaining eye and on the front part of neck. The head seems to have been worked with the punch and the flat chisel. Tool marks of the latter are still visible on the neck and wreath.

The head is unprovenanced but shows a faint similarity with limestone sculpture from Idalion (Dali). A statuette and a life-size head in the British Museum have a similar downward tilt of the eyes. Their faces, however, are broad and rounded and lack the bowed shape of the mouth. They are dated to 430 and 450 B.C. respectively.[36] Both derive from Lang's "excavations" to Idalion. Robert H. Lang was one of those who conducted unofficial excavations in the island. He was an employee of the Ottoman bank and "excavated" the sanctuary of Apollo at Dali in the 1870s.

A small, female head from the temenos of Aphrodite at Idalion has a similar oval head and vertical emphasis of the face. She also has the same shape of the lips and the eyes, with prominent eyelids.[37]

Another head in the British Museum, although of much larger size, also shows some resemblance to our head in the rendering of the eyes and lips, even if the cheekbones of this larger head are much more prominent. This head is said to derive from Dali (or possibly Pyla) in Cyprus.[38]

A small head in Musée Chateau Borély at Marseilles has about the same bowed mouth as our head. The Marseille head has no provenance and is dated to the Cypro-Archaic II period.[39] The head in the Swedish private collection also has some traits in common with the sculpture from Vouni (the vertical face) and Golgoi (the prominent chin and the rendering of the eyes).[40] However, it would not be too daring to suggest that our head could derive from the Dali region.

Variations in style are more apparent in larger figures which are therefore easier to attribute to a certain region than the smaller sized ones. The head in question is about half life size which would refer the complete sculpture to the category of larger figures, yet the incomplete condition makes close definitions difficult. However, the head is made in the Archaic Cypro-Greek style and should be dated to the 5th century B.C. when the "Archaic smile" had gone out of fashion.

Marie-Louise Winbladh
Medelhavsmuseet

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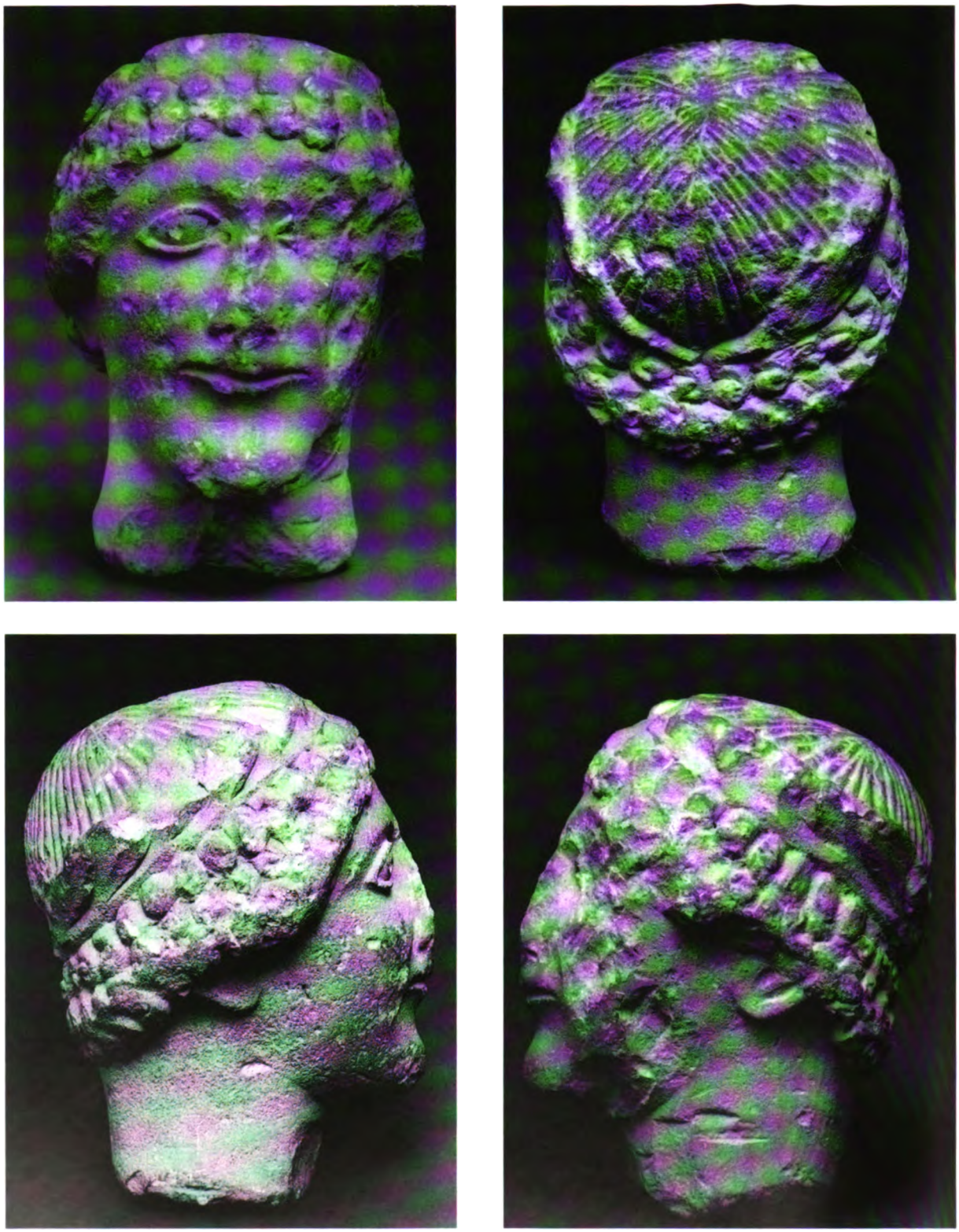

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Old and new. Preliminary observations on a Roman head of Dionysos with 18th century restorations

A marble head of Dionysos formerly in the Bergsten Collection has since long been kept in Medelhavsmuseet.[41] Following the breakup in 1992 of an old repair and its subsequent mending, the head was studied by the Conservator, Mrs. Elisabet Tebelius Murén, of the National Museum and myself, with the purpose of identifying the original parts and the modern additions primarily in the area where the recent damage had occurred.

Already before 1992, it was, of course, clear that the sculpture had received modern—probably 18th century[42]—additions, to make up for missing parts in the face, at the skull and below the neck.[43] On the face, the nose is such an addition. Everything below the neck is modern, including the loosely falling hair and the two rippling bands, of outright 18th century character, at the back. Also, it does not take more than a quick look to realize that the entire upper part of the skull is a modern restoration.

The damage that once caused the splitting-off of the skull part came to affect the ivy wreath around the head, not only those vegetal elements which extended above the break but also some of those which happened to be below it. It was to the elements of the sculptured ivy that our observations were concentrated, in association with the limited conservation undertaken by Mrs. Tebelius Murén; we realized that the relative complexity of the ivy supplied interesting material for a more detailed judgement on the modern restorations.

The ivy, in principle represented in relief, encircles the head in the form of a single branch, its two endings falling at the back of the head. Three types of elements are represented, viz. leaves, berries and stalks. The repair to be mended concerned two contiguous leaves in a right-hand, frontal position (the head's right side). Both leaves were raised on their stalks so as to be separate from the surface of the head itself. Their position was thus higher than in true relief-work, and the risk of breakage considerable.

The two leaves are joined one to the other, forming one piece as they fell off from the head. One leaf supports the other, being partly covered by it. When the unit was put back in place, it was noted that its juncture at the surface of the head was formed by a small strut of concrete. This piece is an indication of a post-18th-century repair. It is likely to have contributed to the mentioned, conspicuously high position of these leaves.

The two leaves themselves have the following characteristics: their shape is regularly triangular; the edges have differentiating angles of rather standardized appearance (representing lobes of the ivy leaf contour[44]); the surface shows a very faint rippling all over; a central nerve is indicated by two parallel incisions. Thereby they resemble a number of other leaves in the wreath. At the same time they form a rather striking contrast to a few preserved (fragmentary) leaves showing the following characteristics: a triangular but seemingly less regular shape; edges showing angles of smaller size and less standardized appearance; an even surface without rippling; no marked central nerve. These leaves, moreover, are more or less contiguous with the surface of the head; if they were made from added matter, they did in any case not project much.

After this first-discovered distinction, we found a second one relating to the berries. One of the two visible (preserved) clusters of berries has the following characteristics: the berries come in slightly variable sizes; the exterior part of each berry—the perianths—are not always clearly separated from the central part; the drill holes are of unequal depth, some being quite shallow. In the other cluster the size of the berries is more uniform (as well as being larger); the separation of perianths and centres is generally clearer; the drill holes are more uniform, going deep enough to set the single berries well off.

Lastly, we could see that there was a difference in the treatment of the stalks as well, i.e. in those parts which carry the leaves and the clusters of berries. In the frontal part of the wreath, above the central part of the forehead of the god, but also elsewhere, there are stalks made of separate material and set entirely free from the ground or appearing in prominent relief. The profiles of these stalks is irregularly rounded. In some cases, especially in the same frontal part, their extension forms a complex, somewhat entangled pattern. Other stalks look much different. They are made in low relief. Their profile is angular and partly three-sided, having a flat top and flat sides (the "bottom" joining the head). Finally, their way of directing themselves over the surface of the head is simpler, as least judging from the preserved sections.

There is a pattern behind these differences. From the position of well-preserved examples of each kind of vegetal element in relation to the break at the skull—above or below—it could be concluded that the modern (18th century) parts are those mentioned first in the descriptions given above, while the original parts are those mentioned last.

These original parts are, at least in part, technically

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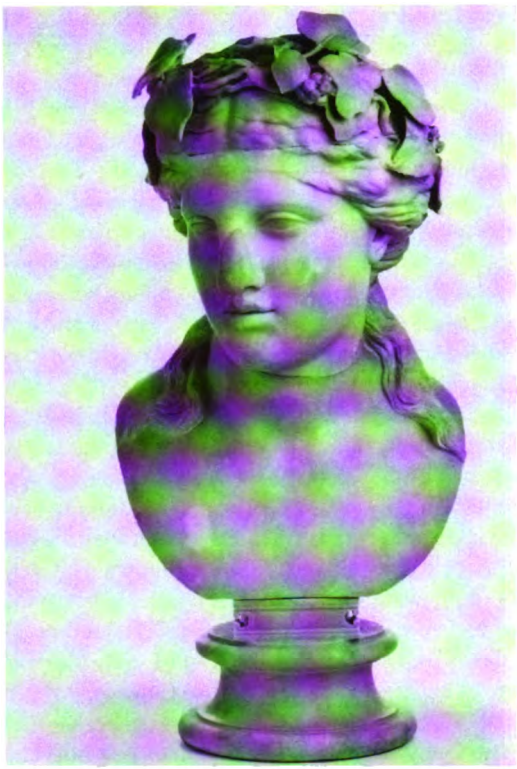

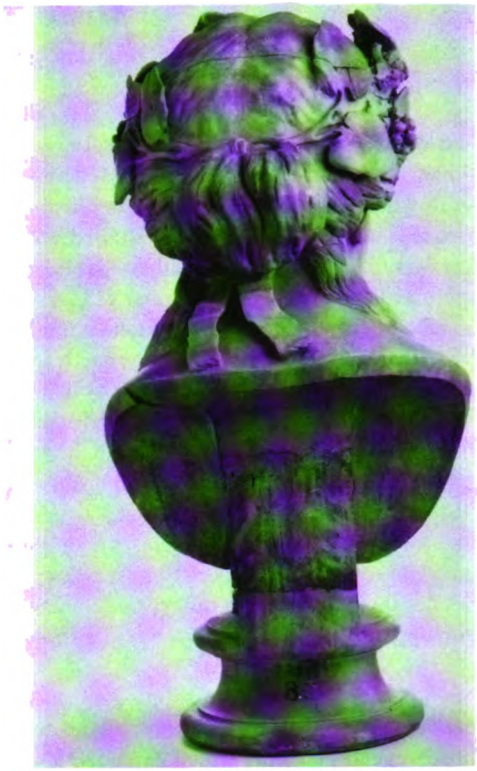

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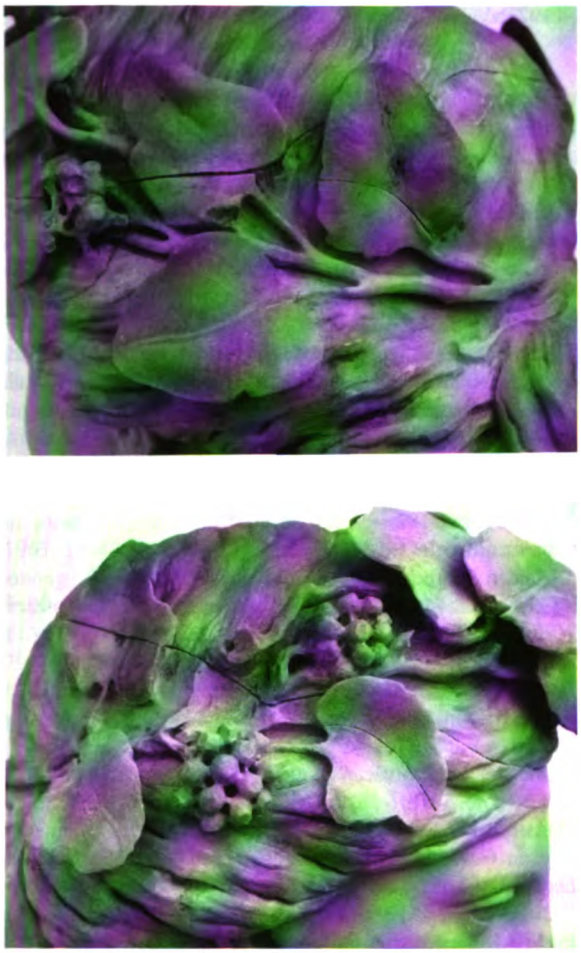

Details. Top: The three ivy leaves represent modern restorations except for the lower, lefthand parts of the upper two. Bottom: Two clusters of ivy berries, the upper one being a modern restoration.

more advanced than their restored correspondents. The best example is offered by the berries. The modern drilling achieved less of contrast between light and dark by being less uniform and less deep than did the ancient one. Nor could the modern execution quite compete with the ancient one in the matter of detailed shape. The configuration of the lobes at the edges of the leaves and of the inner and outer parts of the berries shows the sensitivity of the Roman sculptor.

Style is, however, also at play—it is perhaps the single factor that accounts for most of the differences observed. Here, the 18th century restorer followed a road that distanced his additions from the ideals embodied by the Roman work. As is apparent from the treatment of the ivy wreath, the second century sculptor[45] did not emphasize the plastic aspects much; the leaves and the stalks were modelled so as to adjoin the head, the stalks even approaching a graphic design. The 18th century restorer, on the other hand, imparted a high degree of plasticity, by allowing stalk sections as well as leaves to stand dauntlessly out from the surface of the sculpture (a tendency later emphasized by the concrete strut). The effect is one of busyness perceivable especially in the frontal view of the head and to be noted for the contrast that it forms to the calm suaveness expressed by the face.

The indication or lack of the central nerve of the leaf leaves matter for additional thought. Together with the presence or lack of the lobes at the edges of the leaves, it says something about the respective sculptor's attitude towards the representation of nature. We could hypothesize that the 18th century restorer regarded the central nerve as essential in the depiction of a leaf, whatever its species; as that without which the leaf was not a leaf; as something of a sign of a leaf. The details of shape of the leaf were less important. The Roman sculptor, on the other hand, apparently took no notice of signs when it came to leaves and other elements of nature; on the contrary, he was aware that the central nerve in an ivy leaf is thin and unobtrusive but that the distinct lobes at the edges contribute visibly to the shape by which an ivy leaf can be recognized as such. It is interesting to find that nature was still followed so closely for vegetal motifs by the Roman artist of the second century,[46] even in contexts in which abstractions and signs were prominent. Our head actually shows how a naturalistically conceived ivy wreath can be added to a bodily form (face) of strongly idealistic imprint such as was considered appropriate for the representation of godhead. Unknowingly, the 18th century restorer effected a slight alteration of the fine tension between these two poles.

Eva Rystedt
Medelhavsmuseet

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Marino Hultman

Abbreviations

Amiet	Amiet, P., *Collection David-Weill. Les antiquites du Luristan*, Paris 1976.
Contenau & Ghirshman	Contenau, G. & Ghirshman, R., *Fouilles de Tepe Giyan*, Paris 1935.
Curtis	Curtis, J.E., 'Some axe-heads from Chagar Bazar and Nimrud', *Iraq* 45, 1983, 733–81.
Gordon	Gordon, Colonel D.H., 'Swords, rapiers and horse-riders', *Antiquity* 27/106, 1953, 67–78.
Meldgaard, Mortensen & Thrane	Meldgaard, Jørgen, Mortensen, Peder & Thrane, Henrik, 'Excavations at Tepe Guran, Luristan', *ActaArch* 34, 1963, 97–133.
Moorey	Moorey, P.R.S., *Catalogue of the ancient Persian bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1971.
Muscarella	Muscarella, Oscar White, *Bronze and iron. Ancient Near Eastern artifacts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1988.
Schmidt, van Loon & Curvers	Schmidt, E.F.(†), van Loon, M.N. & Curvers, H.M., *The Holmes expeditions to Luristan* (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, 108), Chicago 1989.
Thrane	Thrane, Henrik, 'Archaeological investigations in western Luristan', *ActaArch* 35, 1964, 153–169.
Vanden Berghe 1969	Vanden Berghe, 'Belgische opgravingen in Luristan en navorsingen in de Pusht-i Kuh, 4e campagne, Oct. 1968 – Jan. 1969', *Phoenix* 15, 1969, 267–284.
– 1970a	– 'La nécropole de Kalleh Nisar', *ArcheologiaPar* 32, 1970, 64–73.
– 1970b	– 'Belgische opgravingen in Luristan, 5e campagne', *Phoenix* 16/2, 1970, 351–366.
– 1970c	– 'Luristan prospections archéologiques dans la region de Badr', *ArcheologiaPar* 36, 1970, 10–22.
– 1973a	– 'Recherches archéologiques dans le Luristan, sixième campagne—fouilles de Bard-i Bal et à Pay-i Kal. Prospections dans le district d'Aivan', *Iranica Antiqua* 10, 1973, 1–79.
– 1973b	– 'Le Luristan à l'âge du bronze', *ArcheologiaPar* 63, 1973, 24–37. La nécropole de Kutal-i Gulgul', *ArcheologiaPar* 65, 1973, 16–30.
– 1973c	– 'Le Luristan à l'âge du fer. La nécropole de Kutal-i Gulgul', *ArcheologiaPar* 65, 1973, 16–30.
– & Haerinck	– & Haerinck, Ernie, 'Prospections et fouilles au Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan', *AfO* 31, 1984, 200–204.

[1] For the Danes: Meldgaard, Mortensen & Thrane, and Thrane; for Holmes: Schmidt, van Loon & Curvers; for the Pusht-i Kuh material: all the Vanden Berghe volumes.

[2] Vanden Berghe 1973a, pl. 22:3 left.

[3] Vanden Berghe 1969, fig. 95:16-17 and 1970a, 72.

[4] Contenau & Ghirshman, pl. 26:85/11, 26:86/7 among others.

[5] Moorey, 181-183, nos. 262, 271, 275.

[6] Vanden Berghe 1973a, pl. 22:2.

[7] Vanden Berghe 1973b, pls. 33 below and 36:18-23.

[8] Contenau & Ghirshman, pls. 10:12/3, 15:36/4 among others.

[9] Moorey, 175, nos. 221, 222.

[10] Schmidt, van Loon & Curvers, 63-65, pl. 204e.

[11] Meldgaard, Mortensen & Thrane, fig. 30.

[12] The first in Vanden Berghe 1973c, 23 and 26 above; the second in Vanden Berghe 1973a, pl. 14:2.

[13] Metropolitan: Muscarella, 260, no. 348; Ashmolean: Moorey, 264, no. 501.

[14] As for this division into dagger, dirk and sword by length I rely on Gordon, 67, where daggers are up to 36 cm, dirks between 36 and 50 cm and swords longer than 50 cm.

[15] Since I hope to publish the daggers, dirks and swords from Pusht-i Kuh sometime in the future, I use my system of description developed for them.

[16] Tepe Giyan: Contenau & Ghirshman, pls. V.2 and 10:10/7; Pa-Yi Kal: Vanden Berghe 1970b, fig. 118a and Vanden Berghe 1970c, fig. 8c; Ur: Curtis, fig. 4:1; Tepe Guran: Meldgaard, Mortensen & Thrane, 129, fig. 31; Tang-i-Hamamlan: Thrane, 158, fig. 5 right.

[17] Kutal-i Gulgul, inv. no. 71GL122 (B3 n. 33), Vanden Berghe 1973c, fig. on p. 25:1;
Bard-i Bal, inv. no. 70 BB245 (T. 68 n.10), Vanden Berghe 1973a, fig. 20:10, pl. 18: 2.

[18] For the Metropolitan Museum, Muscarella, 282-83, nos. 385, 386; the David-Weill Collection: Amiet, 35.

Haettner Blomquist

Abbrevations

SCE II	E. Gjerstad *et al.*, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* II. *Finds and results of the excavations in 1927–1931*, Stockholm 1935.
SCE IV:2	E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV. Part 2. *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and*

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Cypro-Classical periods, Stockholm 1948.

[19] Some of the vases have been presented in short notices in catalogues and articles: P. Åström, *Cypern—motsättningarnas ö* (SIMA-PB, 1), Göteborg 1974, 5, 182f. (cat. nos. 40, 134, 194); *Medelhavsmuseet—en introduktion*, Stockholm 1982, 159 (cat. no. 1); V. Karageorghis *et al.*, *Cypriote antiquities in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm* (MedMusM, 2), Stockholm 1977, 35 (pl. 15:2); M. Frisell, 'Hellenistic relief bowls in Stockholm', *MedMusB* 28, Stockholm 1993, 107 (cat. no. 4).

[20] Clay: jug, juglet and flask 2.5YR 6/6. Slip: jug and flask 2.5YR 5/6, juglet 2.5YR 5/8.

[21] *SCE* IV:2, fig. 39:2, 18. This study keeps itself within the limits of the sequence of pottery forms as defined by the *SCE*. Attention must none the less be given to the discrepancies between the *SCE* and the proposed re-arrangement of the pottery series by Birmingham (J. Birmingham, 'The chronology of some early and middle Iron age Cypriot sites', *AJA* 67, 1963, 15–42, esp. 34–36) who placed the forms in question among early Black-on-Red shapes.

[22] 'Stylli', in *SCE* II, pl. 35:1 (T. 17.30); 'Amathus', ibid., pl. 115 (T. 7.278); 'Marion', ibid., pls. 87:2, 3 (T. 98.9, 26, 36), 79:1 (T. 79.3), 78:1, 2 (T. 75.20); V. Karageorghis, *Salamis* 3. Part 1. *Excavations in the necropolis of Salamis*, Nicosia 1967, pl. 131:20 (T. 31); *idem*, *Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron age cemetery in Cyprus* (Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern, 3), Konstanz 1983, pls. 96 (T. 62.90), 76 (T. 54.37), 104 (T. 65.2), 123 (T. 74.25), 128 (T. 75.102), 161 (T. 81.18); J.L. Benson, *The necropolis of Kaloriziki* (SIMA, 36), Göteborg 1973, pl. 35:K733 (T. 27).

[23] Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor* I, Jerusalem 1958, pl. 50:15–17; E. Stern, *Excavations of Tel Mevorakh (1973–1976)*. Part 1. *From the Iron age to the Roman period* (Qedem, 9. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Jerusalem 1978, pl. 31:1–2 (T. 100); F. James, *The Iron age at Beth Shan. A study of levels VI-IV*, Philadelphia 1966, figs. 13:9, 18:19, 22:1, 61:12; R.S. Lamon & G.M. Shipton, *Megiddo* I. *Seasons of 1925-34. Strata I-V*, Chicago 1939, pls. 8:176, 48:176; W. Culican, 'The repertoire of Phoenician pottery', in *Phönizier im Westen. Internationales Symposium über die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum*, ed. H.G. Niemeyer, Mainz am Rhein 1982, 45–82, Abb. 6a (Akhziv T. 20); J. du Plat Taylor, 'The Cypriot and Syrian pottery from Al Mina, Syria', *Iraq* 21, 1959, 62–92, pl. 22:3b (2–6), fig. 5:6; J.B. Pritchard, *Sarepta. A preliminary report of the Iron age. Excavations of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1970-1972*, Philadelphia 1975, fig. 26:12, pl. 53:6.

[24] 'Amathus', in *SCE* II, pls. 9.2 (T. 7.194), 11.2 (T. 7.159); 'Stylli', ibid., pls. 21.3 (T. 6.6), 25.1 (T. 17.17); Karageorghis, *Palaepaphos-Skales* (supra n. 22), pls. 97 (T. 62.96), 123 (T. 74.17), 128 (T. 75.42), 160 (T. 81.68); *idem*, 'Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1984', *BCH* 109, 1985, 898-967, fig. 69; Benson (supra n. 22), pl. 36:K751 (T. 27).

[25] G. Loud, *Megiddo* II. *Seasons of 1935–39*, Chicago 1948, pls. 89.6, 146.28; Lamon & Shipton (supra n. 23), pls. 17.87, 57.87; O. Tufnell, *Lachish* III. *The Iron age*, Oxford 1953, pl. 88.339 (T. 1002); W.M.F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* II, London 1932, pl. 35:69 P2 (T. 1704); Culican (supra n. 23), Taf. 6e (Akhziv T. 20).

[26] This being an exception from the typological development of the collar-shaped mouth of the White Painted I and Bichrome I jugs, which from type II and onwards usually elongated into a funnel while the rudiment of the collar transformed into a handle-ridge, as observed by Gjerstad (*SCE* IV:2, 52, 60).

[27] 'Amathus', in *SCE* II, pl. 25:1 (T. 19.4, 7, 17).

[28] K. Nicolaou, *The historical topography of Kition* (SIMA, 43), Göteborg 1976, pl. 28:3 (Kition T. 60). For the corresponding form in White Painted III, see ibid., pl. 28:5.

[29] *CVA British Museum* 2, II Cc, pl. 13:13 (= Great Britain 2, pl. 57).

[30] J.L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of antiquities from Cyprus*, New York 1914, no. 821.

[31] 'Marion', in *SCE* II, pl. 36.3 (T. 5.6).

[32] The date of the period (750–600 B.C.) following the chronology in V. Karageorghis, *Cyprus. From the Stone age to the Romans*, London 1982.

[33] These circumstances were duly noted by Gjerstad (*SCE* IV:2, 269–270) who distinguished between a Cypriote and a Syro-Palestinian group according to differences in fabrics and chronology. For details on deviating opinions, see G.W. Van Beek, 'Cypriot chronology and the dating of Iron I sites in Palestine', *BASOR* 124, 1951, 26–29; W.F. Albright, 'Correspondance with professor Einar Gjerstad on the chronology of 'Cypriote' pottery from early Iron levels in Palestine', *BASOR* 130, 1953, 22-26; Birmingham (supra n. 21); Culican (supra n. 23). Results from neutron activation analyses seem to be able to discern several manufacturing regions parallell in time, see for example J. Matthers *et al.*, 'Black-on-Red ware in the Levant: a neutron activation analysis study', *JAS* 10, 1983, 369–382; L. Courtois & B. Velde, 'Techniques de la céramique et de la verrerie amathousiennes', *BCH* 103, 1979, 750–755, esp. 752; R.E. Jones *et al.*, *Greek and Cypriot pottery. A review of scientific studies* (British School at Athens Fitch laboratory occasional paper, 1), Athens 1986, esp. 314–343, 532–533.

[34] Demetriou's higher dating of the Cypro-Geometric III period to 875–740 B.C. (A. Demetriou, *Cypro-Aegean relations in the early Iron age* [SIMA, 83], Göteborg 1989, esp. 80f.) would be in better accordance with the material here presented than the somewhat lower dating of the period to 850–750 B.C. by Karageorghis (supra n. 32). The dating by Demetriou of the Cypro-Archaic I period to 740-675/650 B.C. may on corresponding grounds stand out as an alternative.

Winbladh

[35] Height 21.5 cm; width *c.* 15 cm; width of neck *c.* 10.5 cm. On the back of the neck is written the letter "P", now barely visible. It probably stands for "Petrakides", who had a great collection of Cypriote antiquities and who was also an art

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dealer in Nicosia.

[36] F.N. Pryce, *Catalogue of sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum* I:2, London 1931, 55f., figs. 81, 84A.

[37] M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros. Die Bibel und Homer*, Berlin 1893, pl. 54:5.

[38] Pryce (supra n. 36), 63, fig. 96.

[39] A.J. Décaudin, *Les antiquités Chypriotes dans les collections publiques Françaises*, Nicosia 1987, p. 147, no 81.

[40] A. Hermary, [Musée du Louvre] *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre. Sculptures*, Paris 1989, 146, nos. 286 and 288; P. Gaber, 'Regional styles in Cypriot limestone sculpture', in *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus 1973–1980* (eds. L.E. Stager & A.N. Walker), Chicago 1989, 388–401.

Rystedt

[41] The collection formed by Karl Bergsten (Stockholm) in the first part of this century is still partly in the possession of the family. It is mostly comprised of Roman and Egyptian sculpture. Not a few pieces were bought at Christie's London sale of June 5, 1930. Among these is a group of sculptures which were formerly in the Lansdowne collection. The head discussed here belongs to these. Its modern history goes back to 1771, when it was acquired by Gavin Hamilton after having been found at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. See K. Asplund, *Catalogue de la collection de M. et Mme Karl Bergsten*, vol. II, Stockholm 1943, no. 28.

[42] Cf. the preceding note on the known existence of the sculpture in the 18th century.

[43] It is likely that the original work represented the full figure of the (standing) god; its present form comes close to a bust.

[44] Such lobes characterize the leaves of the ivy except for the examples which grow near the bloom/fruit; these are undifferentiated.

[45] A more exact chronological definition of the sculpture will appear in connection with the full publication of the sculpture.

[46] As it was in the early Empire.

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Swedish Classical Archaeology 1993

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Figurine of terracotta from Cyprus (8th century B.C.) forming part of the exhibition at Medelhavsmuseet of objects from ancient Cyprus in the Pierides Foundation Museum at Larnaca, Cyprus (*Cyprus—Myths and Men during 4000 Years).*

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Activities 1992–1994

Bengt Peterson

Accessions

During the period several important objects could be acquired. The Egyptian collections were able to add to the number of divinities represented in sculpture an outstanding granite sculpture of a falcon of the New Kingdom and a fragment of another granite falcon—a falcon's head—of the same period. Further sculptures acquired were a bronze cat's head, a wooden coffin for a cat's mummy of the Late Period and a small bronze statuette of Harpocrates, all of superb quality. Two large and interesting Roman marble portraits of the early Empire came into the Graeco-Roman collections, as well as a large Apulian fish-plate of very good quality. All these items were bought with the help of private sponsorship. Some minor antiquities were also added to the collections.

Also to be mentioned is the loan to Medelhavsmuseet of about 500 archaeological items from Alexandria, mostly ceramic products; they derive from the Strängnäs Museum where they have been kept since the 1880's. The collection will be displayed in a temporary exhibition during the autumn of 1994.

Exhibitions

The presentation of the architectural models of cork bought by King Gustav III in Italy, *Temples of Cork*, inaugurated in June 1992, continued through the early autumn. A mini-exhibition of the Museum's own holdings of ceramic vessels from Nubia, *Nubian Pottery*, was on display during August. September and November 1992 were the months for *The Discovery of Egypt*, a display of a selection of 17th-19th century travel and archaeological books, mainly from the Museum's library, together with some antiquities and *ricordi* brought home by early Swedish travellers. Egypt was further emphasized this autumn by a contemporary artist's sketches from Egypt: *Karin Ward: Drawn in Egypt.*

The main temporary exhibition during the winter of 1992–93 was *Cyprus—Myths and Men during 4000 Years.* It comprised about 100 outstanding and often unique works, all of them lent to the Museum by the Pierides Museum at Larnaca. This exhibition was especially sponsored by Consul General D.Z. Pierides in order to celebrate his family's centenary as consular agents for Sweden in Cyprus.

The Museum noted with pleasure the huge public response to an exhibition called *Egyptian Pictures* during January-March 1993. This was a two-man show by the painter Lasse Persson and the photographer Pelle Stackman. It was later shown in Egypt as well. Another contemporary artist, the sculptor Roland Andersson, was given during May the opportunity to present *Pyramid Builder. From Architecture to Sculpture*, a beautifully mounted exhibition in the Museum's main hall, where sculptures transforming and paraphrasing the pyramid form received their proper space.

In May 1993 another temporary exhibition, planned to be open for a longer period, was inaugurated in the Islamic part of the Museum; it was entitled *Form, Colour, and Techniques of Islamic Pottery.* The items all came from the Stockholm collections, many of them never before shown to the public. The major part of the exhibits consists of sherds from Fustat, Egypt.

Autumn 1993 began with an exhibition presented in collaboration with the Uppsala University Library. It was called *Mission in Istanbul.* It mirrored the long stay in Istanbul of Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, the Swedish diplomatic emissary to the Sublime Porte during the 1820's. His many water-colours made an impressive show. The exhibition was later presented in Turkey as

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well—in Istanbul and in Ankara—and will also be mounted in Uppsala.

During the winter of 1993–94 another presentation of the work of a contemporary artist in the Museum again proved successful. The weaver Kirsten Hennix hung a series of her art works called *Come home, Ulysses—Sender Penelope.* The exhibition was accompanied by large Cypriote vessels. It was highly esteemed by a great many visitors.

Spring 1994 ended with the opening of *Life, Health, Beauty—Egyptian Jewellery*, comprising about 300 items from the Museum's storage rooms, many of them shown for the first time.

Among other exhibitions may be mentioned a series of photographs by the author and photographer Göran Börge, originally shown in the Museum. This series, with motifs *From Ararat to Euphrates,* now forms a travelling exhibition on its own, touring Swedish provincial cities.

Finally, it is important to note that Medelhavsmuseet's small permanent exhibition in the city of Umeå was re-arranged during late 1992. It now forms a valuable reference collection connected with Umeå University.

Program activities

Series of lectures are almost always sold out, often in advance. Hence the necessity to double some of them. During the period 1992–94 the following series have been presented: *Temples of Cork, Cyprus in Medelhavsmuseet, Ancient Queens and Empresses* and *Daily Life in Antiquity.* Special, thematic, whole day programs of lectures comprised *Myth as the Divining Rod of the Soul, Early Christian Egypt and Gnosticism, From Homer to Derek Walcott, Classical Antiquity and the 18th Century* and *Fairy Tale and Drama as Life's Mirror.* All of them were highly appreciated by large audiences. Among other activities may be mentioned recitals on the theme of Ulysses and St Mark, dramatic representations such as Euripides' *Medea* and concerts.

Many guided tours were arranged, 479 in 1992–93, 567 in 1993-94. Among the special tours were walks arranged on early evenings during the summer in Medelhavsmuseet and Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities in the Royal Palace, as a result of co-operation between the two museums.

The total numbers of visitors to the Medelhavsmuseet were 50,412 in 1992 and 43,708 in 1993. In the first half of 1994 we had 18,094 visitors.

Scholarship and publications

In addition to the continuous studies made by the scholarly staff of the Museum of the material in the collections, the Museum assisted the scholarly work of several visitors during the period, chiefly in the realms of Cypriote terracotta sculpture (Gloria Ikosi), Oriental seals (Helen Merrillees) and Late Etruscan votive sculpture (Martin Söderlind). The international project entitled *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* brought the work on the Greek vases in the collections of Medelhavsmuseet and the National Museum to a second instalment (the volume *Stockholm* 2 = Sweden 4 on Mycenaean, Attic Geometric, Attic black-figured without figure scenes, Eastern Greek and Black-glazed wares was sent to the printers).

In connection with the exhibition entitled *Cyprus—Myths and Men during 4000 Years,* the Museum arranged an international, scholarly conference on Cypriote archaeology in the autumn of 1992. Lectures were presented by a number of Cypriote, French, Australian and Swedish scholars. The papers dealing specifically with the Swedish Cyprus Exhibition will be published in a volume of the *Memoir* series.

The Museum published the following volumes during the period: *Bulletin* 29, 1993; Skrifter 18, 1992 (Marie-Louise Winbladh, *Cypern. Möte mellan kulturer* [Cyprus. Meeting-point of Cultures]; Skrifter 19, 1994 (Beate George, *Liv, hälsa, skönhet—egyptiska smycken* [Life, Health, Beauty—Egyptian Jewellery]); and, in cooperation with Uppsala University Library,*C.G. Löwenhielm, Artist and Diplomat in Istanbul 1824–1827* (Uppsala University Library, Exhibition catalogue, 33), Uppsala 1993.

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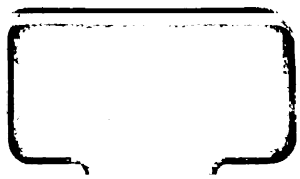

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